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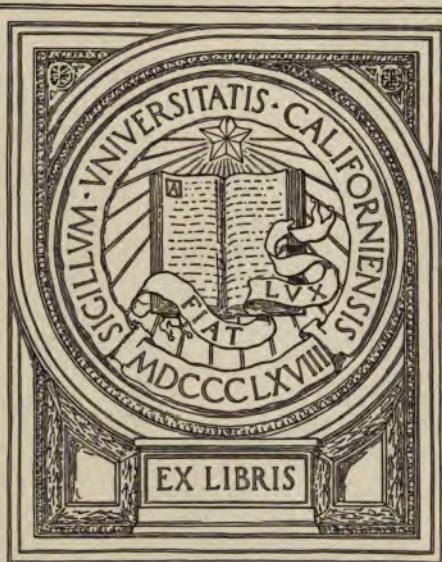
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IN MEMORIAM

George Davidson

1825-1911



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Professor of Geography
University of California

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THE
HANDBOOK FOR DELHI

WITH INDEX AND TWO MAPS,

ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORIC REMAINS OF

OLD DELHI,

AND THE POSITION OF

THE BRITISH ARMY BEFORE THE ASSAULT IN 1857, &c. &c.

COMPILED

BY

FREDERICK COOPER, C. B.,

PUNJAB CIVIL SERVICE.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

TO

*Names of Sites of remarkable Antiquities and Historic remnants  
with approximate dates.*

| No. | Name.                                                                           | Date. |       | REMARKS.                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|     |                                                                                 | B. C. | A. D. |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1   | Inderput, ...                                                                   | 1400  |       | Of the time of Joodish.                                                                                                                                                             |
| 2   | Old Delhi around Kootub, ...                                                    | 328   |       |                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 3   | Poorana Killa, ...                                                              |       | 676   | Otherwise named Deen Pun-<br>na, or Poorana Killa.                                                                                                                                  |
| 4   | Killa Roy Pithoura, ...                                                         |       |       | At Kootub, Roy Pithoura<br>was the last of the Rajpoot<br>kings.                                                                                                                    |
| 5   | Khillokre, ...                                                                  |       | 1286  | The site on which Hoomai-<br>yoon's tomb now stands.                                                                                                                                |
| 6   | Togluckshah, at Toglucka-<br>bad, ...                                           |       | 1321  | Built by Ghias-ood-deen<br>Togluckahah, who was the<br>son of Mullick Togluck-<br>shah. The tomb was raised<br>in 125 Hejiree by Mullick<br>Fuqroodeen Shah, the heir-<br>apparent. |
| 7   | Bijeh Mundel, (originally<br>built by Hindoos, but al-<br>tered by Ferozeshah ) |       | 1327  | Real name Buddes Mungul,<br>is situated near the Kootub<br>apposite Houz Khas.                                                                                                      |
| 8   | Shere Ferozabad, (compris-<br>ing the Kootub and <u>Lat</u> )                   |       | 1354  | Built in the reign of Fe-<br>rozeshah, son of Sultan Ruj-<br>jub.                                                                                                                   |
| 9   | Koshuck Jehanooma, ...                                                          |       | 1354  | Situated on the ridge before<br>Delhi between the " Mosque<br>Picquet " and Hindoo Rao's<br>House.                                                                                  |
| 10  | Delhi, Shere Shah, ...                                                          |       | 1541  | Founded by Islam Shah.<br>Gate alone standing oppo-<br>site the Jail.                                                                                                               |
| 11  | Selimgurh, ...                                                                  |       | 1546  | A Puthan Fort : outwork of<br>the Puthan on the Jumna.                                                                                                                              |
| 12  | Shahjehanabad, or Modern<br>Delhi, ...                                          |       |       | Built by Shajehan, ten years af-<br>ter the palace was constructed.                                                                                                                 |

| No. | Name.                                                               | Date.                       |       | REMARKS.                                                   |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------|
|     |                                                                     | B. C.                       | A. D. |                                                            |
| 13  | Second Lat (at Hindoo Rao's) ..                                     | 298                         |       | Vide Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes.                            |
| 14  | Ferozeshah's Lat, ...                                               |                             |       |                                                            |
| 15  | The Lat at the Kootub, ...                                          |                             | 895   | See description.                                           |
| 16  | Unangpoor village, ...                                              |                             | 686   | Built by Rajah Anungpal.                                   |
| 17  | Roy Pithoura's temple, (the quadrangle containing the iron Lat) ... | From 1143 B. C. to 25 A. D. |       |                                                            |
| 18  | Musjid Kootub-ool-Islam, (the great arches at Kootub) ...           |                             |       | See description.                                           |
| 19  | Kootub inar, ...                                                    |                             |       | Do. Do.                                                    |
| 20  | Unfinished Minar, ...                                               |                             |       |                                                            |
| 21  | Shumshee Baths, ...                                                 |                             | 1229  | Built by Shums-ood-deen Altumush.                          |
| 22  | Tomb of Sooltan Gori, ...                                           |                             | 1231  | Real name Nasir-ood-deen Mahmood. See description.         |
| 23  | Tomb of Shumsood-deen,...                                           |                             |       | Vide description.                                          |
| 24  | Baoli Nizamood-deen, ...                                            |                             | 1321  | Built by Mohamed Adil Togluck Shha.                        |
| 25  | Shrine of ditto, ...                                                |                             | 1324  |                                                            |
| 26  | Mosque at Nizamood-deen,                                            |                             | 1324  | Built by Ferozeshah.                                       |
| 27  | Mosque at ditto, ...                                                |                             | "     |                                                            |
| 28  | Bhullee Bhattecaree ka Mahul, ..                                    |                             | "     | Built in Ferozeshah's reign, has 3 domes of red sandstone. |
| 29  | Shrine of Chirag Delhi,                                             |                             | 1373  | Opposite Poorana Killa.                                    |
| 30  | Kuddum Shureef, ...                                                 |                             | 1374  | Ditto.                                                     |
| 31  | Kale Musjid, ...                                                    |                             | 1387  | See description.                                           |

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

iii.

| No.  | Name.                                                         | Date. |       | REMARKS.                                                     |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
|      |                                                               | B. C. | A. D. |                                                              |
| 32   | Mosque and Shrine of Kootub Sahib, (improved by Feroksir) ... |       | 1551  | Improved by Islam Shah.                                      |
| 33   | Humaiyoon's Tomb, ...                                         |       | 1565  | Raised by Hajee Begum, wife of Emperor Jehangeer.            |
| 34   | Bara Poola, ...                                               |       | 1612  | A bridge on road to Furreedabad.                             |
| 35   | Chousut Khumba, ...                                           |       | 1624  | The tomb of Mirza Azeez-kokul Buch Khan.                     |
| 36   | Jumma Musjid, ...                                             |       | 1650  | Built in the reign of Shahjehan.                             |
| 37   | Futtehpuri Musjid, ...                                        |       | 1650  | Ditto.                                                       |
| 38   | Musjid Akburabadi, ...                                        |       | "     | Ditto.                                                       |
| 39   | Musjid Sirhindie, ...                                         |       |       | On the Jumna Canal. See description.                         |
| 40   | Shalimar Garden, ...                                          |       |       |                                                              |
| > 41 | Moti Musjid, ...                                              |       | 1659  | Built in the reign of Alameer, the Pearl Mosque in the Fort. |
| 42   | Jhurna, (diving Well at Kootub) ...                           |       |       |                                                              |
| 43   | Jeenut-ool-massy, ...                                         |       | 1700  | See description.                                             |
|      |                                                               |       | 1710  | At the Turcoman Gate.                                        |
| 44   | Tomb of Ghazee-ood-deen Khan, ...                             |       |       | At the Ajmere Gate.                                          |
| 45   | Roshun-ool-dowla, ...                                         |       | 1721  | Garden Mosque in Chandnee Chouk. See description.            |
| 46   | Junter Munter, Observatory ...                                |       | 1724  | Built by Raja Sewai Jai Singh, in Mohamed Shah's time.       |
| 47   | Shah Murdan, ...                                              |       | "     | Opposite Suider Jung Tomb.                                   |
| 48   | Bagh Maildar Khan, ...                                        |       | 1728  | See description.                                             |
| 49   | Koodsia Bagh, ...                                             |       | 1748  | Do. Do.                                                      |
| 50   | Sufder Jung's Tomb, ...                                       |       |       | The Cenotaph of Munsoos Alee, Subadar of Lucknow.            |

| No.  | Name.                                                       | Date. |       | REMARKS.                                                               |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      |                                                             | B. C. | A. D. |                                                                        |
| 51   | Lall Bangla, ...                                            |       | 1779  |                                                                        |
| 52   | Jain Temple, ...                                            |       |       |                                                                        |
| 53   | Ali Murdan's Canal, ...                                     |       | 1800  |                                                                        |
| 54   | Hazar Saitoon, ...                                          |       | 1312  | Built by Mullick Fuhr-ood-deen 'Jonah,' son of Geeas-ood-deen Togluck. |
| 55   | Munder Kalka, ...                                           |       |       | Builder not known, is very old, partly repaired by Durga Singh.        |
| 56   | Emperor Bellol L o d i's Tomb, ...                          |       | 1413  | By Nizam Khan (called Alla-ood-deen Sultan Secunder Shah.)             |
| 57   | Suth Pulla, ...                                             |       |       | Sooltan Ferozeshah's Shikargah, built by Futteh Khan.                  |
| 58   | Khirkkee, ...                                               |       | 1366  | Built by Khan Jehan.                                                   |
| 59   | Durgah of Eusuf Kuttal,...                                  |       | 1489  | Built by Shaik Allaodeen in Sooltan Secunder Shah's time.              |
| 60   | Durgah of Sullaodeen, ...                                   |       | 1360  | Built in Ferozeshah's time.                                            |
| 61   | Tomb of Dungar Khan and Soorj of Jumarudpoor, ...           |       |       | Built by Jummoorud Khan.                                               |
| 62   | Khizzur Goomptee, ...                                       |       |       | Date not known.                                                        |
| 63   | Cenotaph of Mahmood, ...                                    |       | 1479  |                                                                        |
| 64   | Leela Boorj, ...                                            |       |       | Ditto.                                                                 |
| ✓ 65 | Arab Serai, ...                                             |       | 1560  | Built by Hajee Begum.                                                  |
| 66   | Gumbuz Adum Khan, ...                                       |       | 1561  | By Akber Julal-eod-deen the Great.                                     |
| 67   | Jehanara Begum's Tomb,...                                   |       | 1676  |                                                                        |
| 68   | Musjid known as the Mudriess, (now Police head-quarter) ... |       |       | Built by Maha Begum.                                                   |

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|    | Names.                                 | Dates. |       | REMARKS.                                            |
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| 69 | Shere Mundil, ...                      |        | 1550  | Built in Shere Shah Badshah's time.                 |
| 70 | Kotla Ferozeshah, ...                  |        | 1343  |                                                     |
| 71 | Tomb of Shums-ood-deen, Altumush, ...  |        |       | Raised by Sultan Rugnood-deen and Empress Heizzia.  |
| 72 | Tomb of Al'adeen Emperor, ...          |        | 1307  | Built by Shah Shahab-ood-deen and Kootub-ood-deen.  |
| 73 | The Raja-kee-Baolee, ...               |        | 1496  | Built by Secunder Shah, son of Emperor Belloi Lodi. |
| 74 | The Tomb of Moulvee Jumali Kamali, ... |        |       |                                                     |
| 75 | Oulea Musjid and Jahaz,                |        |       | Very old, repaired in Akbershah's time 1823 A. D.   |
| 76 | Jogh Maya, ...                         |        |       |                                                     |
| 77 | Baba Rose Beh's Tomb, ..               |        |       | Of Roy Pithourah's time.                            |
| 78 | Houz Khas, ...                         |        | 1360  | Built by Ferozeshah.                                |
| 79 | Begumpoor, ...                         | about  | 1336  | Do. by Khan Jehan Khan.                             |
| 80 | Nujuff Khan's Tomb, ...                |        |       |                                                     |
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| 82 | Nigumbode, ...                         |        |       | Very old, date from the Pandoes.                    |
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# OLD DELHI

## LEGENDARY.

### SUMMARY OF FORMER HISTORY OF DELHI.

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THE ruins of ancient Delhi extend over a circumference of about twenty miles, and comprise the sites of many distinct cities, founded by different Emperors ; amongst others, those of Siree, Jahanpunah, Indraput or Deenpunah, Toghlukabad, Ferozabad, Shahpoor and Delhi.

The origin of ancient Delhi is involved in obscurity. The following extracts from Tod's *Rajasthan* give us nearly all that is known regarding it.

“ Vyasu, the author of the grand Epic the *Mahabharat*, was son of Santana (of the race of Heri,) sovereign of Delhi, by Yojnaganda, a fisherman's daughter, consequently illegitimate. He became the spiritual father or preceptor of his nieces the daughters of Vichihavira, the son and successor of Santana. Vichihavira had no male offspring. Of his three daughters, one was named Pandea, and Vyasu being the sole remaining male branch of the house of Santana, took his niece and spiritual daughter Pandea to wife, and became the father of Pandu, afterwards sovereign of Indraprestha. Arrian gives the story thus: “ He (Hercules) had a daughter when he was advanced in years, and being unable to find a husband worthy of her, he married her himself, that he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Her name was Pandea, and he caused the whole province in which she was born to receive its name from her.” This is the very legend contained in the Poorans of Vyasu (who was Hiri-cules or chief of the race of Heri) and his spiritual daughter Pandea, from whom the grand race, the Pandua, and from whom Delhi and

its dependencies were designated the Pandua sovereignty. Her issue ruled for thirty-one generations in direct descents, or from 120 to 610 before Christ, when the military minister, connected by blood, was chosen by the chiefs who rebelled against the last Pandua King, represented as "neglectful of all the cares of government," and whose deposition and death introduced a new dynasty. Two other dynasties succeeded in like manner by the usurpation of these military ministers, until Vicramaditya, when the Pandua sovereignty and era of Yoodishtra were both overthrown. Indraprestha remained without a sovereign, supreme power being removed from the north to the southern parts of India, till the fourth, or, according to some authorities, the eighth century after Vicrama, when the throne of Yoodishtra was once more occupied by the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots, claiming descent from the Pandus. To this ancient capital thus re-founded, the new appellation of Delhi was given, and the dynasty of the founder\* *Annundpal*, lasted to the twelfth century, when he abdicated in favor of his grandson Pirthwiraja, the last imperial Rajpoot sovereign of India, whose defeat and death introduced the Mahomedans. Ferishta, in the introductory chapter to his

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\* It is said by many that Annundpal did not *abdicate* in favour of his relation Pirtheeraj, but was ousted by him. It would appear that Annundpal had to perform a religious pilgrimage to some place of worship near Benares, and on his departure with a very few number of his retinue made over his throne, fort, treasure and arms, &c. to Pirtheeraj, enjoining him to allow no one to enter his fort till he returned in person. During Annundpal's absence Pirtheeraj gained over the affections of the soldiery and usurped the sovereignty. When Annundpal returned he refused him admittance into his fort, but not deeming it safe to *openly* avow that he had thus so treacherously acted, he gave out that the man who called himself Annundpal was not the real King but one of his followers who had, on his master's death, personated him. This current report may or may not be true; but the fact of Annundpal's proceeding to a place 6 miles off and building a fort and city named Anundpoor, with a view to regain his lost power, would shew that he had no intention of giving up his kingdom. Annundpal died ere he completed his Fort—the foundations of which may still be seen, and which are of brick and not stone—some say of poison. Pirtheeraj himself, however, did not long enjoy his ceded or acquired crown, for Shahabooddeen Ghori resumed the sovereignty after a sanguinary engagement soon after, and he was subsequently put to death with torture by his followers at or near Umballa.

History of the Mahomedan Power in India, states that Delhi was built by Dehloo, who reigned in Hindoostan prior to the invasion of Alexander the Great. The first time Delhi is mentioned in his History is A. D. 1008, when the Sultan Mahmood Ghiznevy resolved to chastise Annundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having assisted the Ruler of Mooltan, who had revolted. "Annundpal hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindostan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rajas of Oojein, Gualior, Kalunjur, Kunouj, Dehli and Ajmere entered into a confederacy." Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 48. Three years after Mahmood plundered Thanesur, a city 85 miles north of Delhi, and which was at that time, one of the chief places of Hindoo worship. We then find, that "Mahmood, after the capture of Thanesur, was desirous of proceeding to Delhi. But his nobles told him, that it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered Mooltan a province of his government, and secured himself from all apprehension of Annundpal, Raja of Lahore." Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 52. In the year 1017 Mahmood took Canouj, Meerut, Mahavun, Muttra, seven strong Forts on the banks of the river Jumna, the Fort of Raja Chundpal, the Fort of Munj, and then proceeded against another Raja Chunder Ray, who fled to the mountains; but *Ferishta* makes no mention of his having taken Delhi, probably on account of its strength, as Ibn Batuta, who visited it about 300 years after, thus describes it. "We then proceeded on from Masudabad till we came to Delhi, the capital of the empire. It is a most magnificent City, combining at once both beauty and strength. Its walls are such as to have no equal in the world. This is the greatest City in Hindostan, and indeed of all Islamism in the East. It now consists of four cities, which becoming contiguous have formed one. This city was conquered in the year of the Hejira 584 (A. D. 1188). The thickness of its walls is eleven cubits." Mahomed Ghoomy, in his first and second invasions of India, was defeated by the Hindoos, but in the third attempt he was

successful ; Chawand Ray, King of Delhi, being slain on the field of battle. "After the return of Mahomed Ghoory (to Ghuzne) his General, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, took the fort of Meerut and the city of Delhi from the family of Chawand Ray, and it is owing to this circumstance that foreign nations say, "the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave." In the year 589 (A. D. 1193), he also took the fort of Kole, and making Delhi the seat of his government, established himself there, and compelled all the districts around to acknowledge the faith of Islam." Briggs's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. p. 178. "In the year 588 (A. D. 1192), when Mahomed Ghoory took revenge of his enemies the Hindoos, he appointed Eibuk, now dignified with the title of Kootb-ood-Deen, to the chief command of the army, left to protect his conquests. In discharge of this duty, he took possession of many districts around, and reduced the fort of Meerut ; he also laid siege to Delhi, but the enemy finding their own numbers far exceeded the besiegers, marched out of the place and gave battle. The conflict was sanguinary on both sides, the river Jumna was discolored with blood. The Rajpoots were at length defeated, and retired within their walls, and the garrison, after a long siege, was at last reduced to surrender." *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 191.

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable besides two large elephants\* of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of Jemel, the renowned Raja of Chitore ; on the other is the statue of Polta his brother. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother, immortalized their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Achar ; who defended the towns besieged by that great Emperor with unshaken resolution ; and who, at length, reduced to extremity, devoted themselves to their country, and chose rather to perish with their mother in sallies against the enemy, than sub-

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\* During the recent demolitions the greater part of Elephants have been exhumed, and are now in the public gardens.

mit to an insolent invader. It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part, that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory. These two large elephants, mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect which I cannot describe.

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water. The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the Pont-neuf, five or six French feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan, are closed arcades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the controllers, and other petty officers, exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The mansebdars or inferior omrahs mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the seraglio, divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from the river Jumna, by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above Delhi, and cut with great labour, through fields and rocky ground.

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a bazaar, rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and capacious arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are intromitted by several large and round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the omrahs mount guard, during four and twenty hours, in regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the omrahs making it a point

to adorn them at their own expence. In general, they are spacious divans or alcoves facing a flower garden, embellished by small canals of running water, reservoirs and jets d'eau. The omrahs on guard have their table supplied by the King. Every meal is sent ready dressed, and is received by the omrahs with all suitable ceremony, three times performing the taslim, or salute of grateful acknowledgement, by turning the face toward the King's residence, and then raising the hand to the head and lowering it to the ground.

There are besides many divans and tents in different parts of the fortress, which serve as offices for public business.

Large halls are seen in many places, called kar-kanys or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night! This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needle-work.

The artisans repair every morning to their respective kar-kanays, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away, no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born. The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer; the son of a goldsmith, becomes a goldsmith; and a physician of the city, educates his son for a physician.\* No one marries but in his own

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\* Many of the fences which marked the limits of the respective castes, are now broken down. The Bramins of the Deccan and Punjab, observes Mr. Forster, have taken up the sword, and are seen crowding the ranks of an army; the Chehteree occasionally takes himself to traffic, and the Sooder has become the inheritor of principalities.—*Translator.*

trade or profession ; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by Musselmans as by the Hindoos, to whom it is expressly enjoined by their law. Many are the beautiful girls thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously, if their parents would connect them with a family less noble than their own.

I must not forget the am-kas, to which you at length arrive after passing the palaces just mentioned. This is really a noble edifice : it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our Palace Royale ; with this difference, however, that the arcades of the am-kas have no buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called nagar-kanay. In this place which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and tymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of an European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many tymbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called karna, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a French foot. The tymbals of brass or iron are, some of them at least, a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the nagar-kanay. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable : but such is the power of habit, that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure ; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and tymbal so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a certain distance. The nagar-kanay is placed in an elevated situation, and remote from the royal apart-



ments, that the King may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music.

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the nagar-kanay, as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent Hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window, where the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left ; while eunuchs standing about the royal person, flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is a divan, surrounded by silver rails, on which are assembled the whole body of omrahs, the rajahs, and the ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the mansebdars or inferior omrahs also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard are filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor ; because it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects : hence it is called am-kas, or audience chamber, of high and low.

During the hour and a half, or two hours that this ceremony continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the King may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red steaks from the top of the head down to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth ; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of

a massive silver chain placed over their back ; and white cow-tails from Great Thibet, of great value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with a solemn and dignified step ; and when in front of the throne, the driver, who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the *taslim* or usual reverence.

Other animals are next introduced ;—tame antelopes, kept for the purpose of fighting with each other ; *nilgaus*, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk ; rhinoceroses, large Bengal buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions or tigers ; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes ; some of the fine sporting dogs from Usbec of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering ; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in field sports for catching partridges, cranes, hares and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on whom they pounce with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claw.

Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two *omrahs* frequently pass in review before the King ; the horsemen being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

The King takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep, brought before him without the entrails, and neatly bound up. Young *omrahs*, *mansebdars* and *gourzeberdars* or mace-bearers exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength, to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of the sheep, at one blow.

But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The King not only reviews his cavalry with peculiar attention, but there is not, since the war has been ended, a single cavalier, or other soldier, whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some, and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the am-kas, are brought to the King and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the Monarch himself, who often redresses at the instant the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons, selected from the lower orders, and presented to the King by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice chamber, called adale-kamay, on another day of the week, attended by the two principal cadis, or chief justices. It is evident, therefore, that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects.

What I have stated of the proceedings in the assembly of the am-kas appears sufficiently rational and even noble; but I must not conceal from you the base and disgusting adulation which is invariably witnessed there. Whenever a word escapes the lips of the King, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately caught by the surrounding throng; and the chief omrahs, extending their arms towards heaven, as if to receive some benediction, exclaim Karamat! karamat! Wonderful! wonderful! he has spoken wonders! Indeed there is no Mogul who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse:

Aguer chah ronzra gouyed cheb est in

Bubayed gouft inck mah ou peruin.

If at noon-day the King asserts that it is midnight,

You are to say, behold the moon and the stars!

The vice of flattery pervades all ranks. When a Mogul for instance has occasion for my services, he comes to tell me by way

of preamble, and as matter of course, that I am the Aristotalis the Bocrate, and the Abouysina ulzaman ; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the age. At first I endeavoured to prevent this fulsome mode of address by assuring my visitors that I was very far from possessing the merit they seemed to imagine, and that no comparison ought to be made between such great men and me ; but finding that my modesty only increased their praise, I determined to accustom my ears to their flattery as I had done to their music. I shall here relate an anecdote which I consider quite characteristic. A pundit Brahmin, or Hindoo doctor, whom I introduced into my Aga's service, would fain pronounce his panegyric ; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known, and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations, he concluded his harangue in these words, uttered with all conceivable seriousness : " When, my lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps ; the eight elephants, on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support the extraordinary pressure." The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might be expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance, to tell my Aga, whose risibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes, which often caused so much mischief. " Yes, my friend," he answered without hesitation, " and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a palanquin."

The grand hall of the am-kas opens into a more retired chamber, called gosel-kanay, or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the am-kas. The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large estrade. It is in this place that the King, seated in a chair, his omrahs standing around him,

grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of State. Every omrah incurs the same pecuniary penalty for omitting to attend this assembly in the evening, as for failing to be present at the am-kas in the morning. The only grandee whose daily attendance is dispensed with is my Aga Danechmend Khan, who enjoys this exemption in consequence of his being a man of letters, and of the time he necessarily devotes to his studies or to foreign affairs ; but on Wednesdays, the day of the week on which he mounts guard, he attends in the same manner as other omrahs. This custom of meeting twice a day is very ancient ; and no omrah can reasonably complain that it is binding, since the King seems to consider it as obligatory upon himself as upon his courtiers to be present ; nothing but urgent business, or serious bodily affliction, preventing him from appearing at the two assemblies. In his late alarming illness Aurengzebe was carried every day to the one or the other, if not to both. He felt the necessity of shewing himself at least once during the twenty-four hours ; for his disorder was of so dangerous a character that his absence, though only for one day, might have thrown the whole kingdom into trouble and insurrection and caused the closing of every shop.

Although the King, when seated in the hall of gosel-kanay, is engaged about such affairs as I have mentioned, yet the same shows are exhibited for the most part as in the am-kas : but being late in the day, and the adjoining court being small, the cavalry of the omrahs does not pass in review. There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly, that all the mansebdars who are on guard pass before the King to salute him with much form. The kours move pompously in their front : these are silver figures, beautifully made, carried at the end of large silver sticks : two of them represent large fish ; two others, a horrible and fantastic animal called eiedeha ; others are the figures of two lions ; others of two hands ; and others of scales ; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians

attach a certain mystic meaning. Among the kours and the mansebdars, are mixed many gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers, chosen for their tall and handsome persons, and whose business it is to preserve order in assemblies, and to carry the King's orders, and execute his commands with the utmost speed.

It would afford me pleasure to conduct you to the seraglio, as I have introduced you into other parts of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can describe from ocular observation the interior of that building? I have sometimes gone into it when the King was absent from Delhi, and once pretty far I thought, for the purpose of giving my professional advice in the case of a great lady so extremely ill that she could not be moved to the outward gate, according to the custom observed upon similar occasions; but a Cashmere shawl covered my head, hanging like a large scarf down to my feet, and an eunuch led me by the hand, as if I had been a blind man. You must be content, therefore, with such a general description as I have received from some of the eunuchs. They inform me that the seraglio contains beautiful apartments, separated, and more or less spacious and splendid, according to the rank and income of the females. Nearly every chamber has its reservoir of running water at the door; on every side are gardens, delightful alleys, shady retreats, streams, jets d'eau, grottoes, deep excavations that afford shelter from the sun by day, lofty divans and terraces on which to sleep coolly at night. Within the walls of this enchanting place, in fine, no oppressive or inconvenient heat is felt. The eunuchs speak with extravagant praise of a small tower,\* facing the river, which is covered with plates of gold, in the same manner as the two towers of Agra; and its apartments, are decorated with gold and azure, exquisite paintings and magnificent mirrors. Before taking our leave of the fortress, I wish to recall your attention to the am-kas, which I am desirous to

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\* The Shah-boorj.

describe, as I saw it during certain annual festivals ; especially on the occasion of the rejoicings that took place after the termination of the war. Never did I witness a more extraordinary scene.

The King appeared seated upon his throne, at the end of the great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose foot was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz, which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls, suspended from his neck, reached to the stomach in the same manner as many pagans wear their strings of beads. The throne was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I can not tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four crores of rupees. I observed elsewhere that a lac is one hundred thousand rupees, and that a crore is a hundred lacs; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of rupees. It was constructed by Shah Jehan, the father of Aurengzebe, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient Rajahs and Patans, and the annual presents to the Monarch which every omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not correspondent with the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a Frenchman by birth, who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the great Mogul's court

where he made his fortune. At the foot of the throne were assembled all the omrahs in splendid apparel upon an estrade surrounded by a silver railing and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin, canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords, from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a bark, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colours so vivid, that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres.

As to the arcade galleries round the court, every omrah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the Monarch's satisfaction. Consequently all the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the pavement with rich carpets.

On the third day of the festival, the King, and after him several omrahs, were weighed with a great deal of ceremony in large scales, which, as well as the weights, are, they say, of solid gold. I recollect that all the courtiers expressed much joy when it was found that Aurengzebe weighed two pounds more than the year preceding.

Similar festivals are held every year, but never before were they celebrated with equal splendour and expence. It is thought



that the principal inducement with the King for the extraordinary magnificence displayed on this occasion was to afford to the merchants an opportunity of disposing of the quantities of brocades, which the war had for four or five years prevented them from selling. The expence incurred by the omrahs was considerable, but a portion of it fell ultimately on the common cavaliers, whom the omrahs obliged to purchase the brocades to be made up into vests.

An ancient custom attends these anniversary days of rejoicing, not at all agreeable to the omrahs. They are expected to make a handsome present to the King, more or less valuable according to the amount of their pay. Some of them, indeed, take that opportunity of presenting gifts of extraordinary magnificence, sometimes for the sake of an ostentatious display, sometimes to divert the King from instituting an enquiry into the exactions committed in their official situations or governments, and sometimes to gain the favour of the King, and by that means obtain an increase of salary. Some present fine pearls, diamonds, emeralds or rubies; others offer vessels of gold set with precious stones; others again give a quantity of gold coins, each worth about a pistole and a half. During a festival of this kind Aurengzebe having paid a visit to Jafer Khan, not as his vizier, but as a kinsman, on the pretext that he wished to see a house which he lately erected, the Vizier made a present to the King of gold coins to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns, some handsome pearls; and a ruby, which was estimated at forty thousand crowns, but which Shah Jehan, who understood better than any man the value of every kind of precious stone, discovered to be worth less than five hundred, to the great confusion of the principal jewellers, who, in this instance, had been completely deceived.

A whimsical kind of fair is sometimes held during these festivities in the mahil, or royal seraglio: it is conducted by the handsomest and most engaging of the wives of the omrahs and principal mansebdars. The articles exhibited are beautiful brocades,

rich embroideries of the newest fashion, turbans elegantly worked on cloth of gold, fine muslins worn by women of quality, and other articles of high price. These bewitching females act the part of traders, while the purchasers are the King, the Begums or Princesses, and other distinguished ladies of the seraglio. If any omrah's wife happens to have a handsome daughter, she never fails to accompany her mother, that she may be seen by the King and become known to the Begums. The charm of this fair is the most ludicrous manner in which the King makes his bargains, frequently disputing for the value of a penny. He pretends that the good lady cannot possibly be in earnest, that the article is much too dear, that it is not equal to that he can find elsewhere, and that positively he will give no more than such a price. The woman, on the other hand, endeavours to sell to the best advantage, and when the King perseveres in offering what she considers too little money, high words frequently ensue, and she fearlessly tells him that he is a mere merchant of snow, a person ignorant of the value of merchandize; that her articles are too good for him, and that he had better go where he can suit himself better. The Begums betray, if possible, a still greater anxiety to be served cheaply; high words are heard on every side, and the loud and scurrilous quarrels of the sellers and buyers create a complete farce. But sooner or later they agree upon the price, the Princesses as well as the King buy right and left, pay in ready money, and often slip out of their hands, as if by accident, a few gold instead of silver rupees, intended as a compliment to the fair merchant or her pretty daughter. The present is received in the same unconscious manner, and the whole ends amidst witty jests and good humour.

The festivals generally conclude with an amusement unknown in Europe,—a combat between two elephants; which takes place in the presence of all the people on the sandy space near the river: the King, the principal ladies of the court and the omrahs, viewing the spectacle from different apartments in the fortress.

A wall of earth is raised three or four French feet wide, and five or six high. The two ponderous beasts meet one another face to face, on opposite sides of the wall, each having a couple of riders, that the place of the man who sits on the shoulders for the purpose of guiding the elephant with a large iron hook, may immediately be supplied if he should be thrown down. The riders animate the elephants either by soothing words, or by chiding them as cowards, and urge them on with their heels, until the poor creatures approach the wall and are brought to the attack.

The shock is tremendous, and it appears surprising that they ever survive the dreadful wounds and blows inflicted with their teeth, their heads, and their trunks. There are frequent pauses during the fight ; it is suspended and renewed ; and the mud wall being at length thrown down, the stronger or more courageous elephant passes on and attacks his opponent, and putting him to flight, pursues and fastens upon him with so much obstinacy that the animals can be separated only by means of cherkeys, or fire-works, which are made to explode between them ; for they are naturally timid and have a particular dread of fire, which is the reason why elephants have been used with so very little advantage in armies since the use of fire-arms. The boldest come from Ceylon, but none are employed in war which have not been regularly trained, and accustomed for years to the discharge of muskets to their head and the bursting of crackers between their legs.

The fight of these noble creatures is attended with much cruelty. It frequently happens that some of the riders are trodden under foot, and killed on the spot, the elephant having always cunning enough to feel the importance of dismounting the rider of his adversary, whom he therefore endeavours to strike down with his trunk. So imminent is the danger considered, that on the day of combat the unhappy men take the same formal leave of their wives and children as if condemned to death. They are somewhat consoled by the reflection that if their lives should be preserved, and the King be pleased with their conduct, not

only will their pay be augmented, but a sack of peyssas (equal to fifty francs) will be presented to them the moment they alight from the elephant. They have also the satisfaction of knowing that in the event of their death, the pay will be continued to the widows, and that their sons will be appointed to the same situation. The mischief with which this amusement is attended does not always terminate with the death of the rider: it often happens that some of the spectators are knocked down and trampled upon by the elephants, or by the crowd; for the rush is terrible when, to avoid the infuriated combatants, men and horses in confusion take to flight. The second time I witnessed this exhibition, I owed my safety entirely to the goodness of my horse and the exertions of my two servants.

But it is time we should quit the fortress, and return to the city, where I omitted to describe two edifices worthy of notice.

The first is the principal Mosque, which is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the Mosque; one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building; a second, to the back of the temple; and the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates, is by means of five and twenty or thirty steps, of beautiful large stone, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over to the height of the rock, with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with highly finished plates of copper or brass. Above the principal gate which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the Mosque are seen three capacious domes,

built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The extremity of the Mosque alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved of large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in Paris, a church erected after the model of this temple, would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture and its extraordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are all of white marble, the Mosque is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble; although it consists of a species of stone cut with great facility, and apt to exfoliate after a certain time. The natives pretend that the quarries from which it is taken, reproduce the stone by degrees: this, if true, is very remarkable; but whether or not they rightly attribute it to the water which fills the quarries every year, I cannot decide.


—The King repairs to the Mosque every Friday, for the purpose of prayer; that day corresponding in Muhammedan countries to our Sunday. The streets through which he passes are watered to lay the dust and temper the heat: two or three hundred musketeers form an avenue from the gate of the fortress, and as many more line both sides of a wide street leading directly to the Mosque. The muskets of these soldiers are small but well finished, and have a sort of large scarlet covering with a little streamer on the top. Five or six horsemen, well mounted, are also ready at the fortress gate, and their duty is to clear the way for the King; keeping, however, at a considerable distance in advance, lest he should be incommoded by their dust. These preparations completed, his Majesty leaves the fortress, some-

times on an elephant, decorated with rich trappings, and a canopy supported by painted and gilt pillars; and sometimes in a throne gleaming with azure and gold, placed on a litter covered with scarlet or brocade, which eight chosen men, in handsome attire, carry on their shoulders. A body of omrahs follow the King, some on horseback, and others in palanquins; and among the omrahs are seen a great number of mansebdars, and bearers of silver maces, whom I have elsewhere described. I cannot say that this train resembles the pompous processions, or (which is a more appropriate term) the masquerades of the Grand Seignior, or the martial retinues of European Monarchs: its magnificence is of a different character; but it is not therefore the less royal. The other edifice in Delhi to which I would draw your attention, is what they call the Caravansary of the Princess, built by the celebrated Begum-Saheb, Shah Jehan's eldest daughter, of whom I have so much spoken in my history of the late war. Not only this Princess, but all the omrahs who wished to gain the favour of the old Monarch, embellished the new city at their own expence. The Caravansary is a large square with arcades, like our Palace Royale, except that the arches are separate from each other by partitions, and have small chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all round the buildings, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbec, and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate of the Caravansary being closed at night. If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such places would become ware-houses for all kinds of merchandize, and the general resort of foreign merchants.

About five hundred years ago, the Emperor Mahomed Toghluk issued orders, that the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi, with their cattle and effects, should migrate to Dowlutabad ; but shortly after a rebellion broke out in the province of Mooltan, which obliged the Emperor to go in person to quell it ; this being effected, he returned towards Delhi, when those who had been forced to leave their homes to settle at Dowlutabad, began to desert, and to prevent this, Mahomed Toghluk took up his abode in Delhi, and resided there for two years ; after which he again resolved to make Dowlutabad his Capital, and a second time forced the whole of the inhabitants to proceed there, "leaving the noble Metropolis of Delhi a resort for owls and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the desert." After a time the Emperor gave permission to such as were desirous to return to Delhi, and a great number made the attempt, but thousands perished on the road of starvation, and the survivors, when they reached their destination, found a famine raging in the city, so that but few persons could obtain the necessaries of life.

Probably no other Capital in the world has undergone more changes than Delhi since it was founded, until the close of the reign of the unfortunate Shah Aulum, when its independence may be said to have terminated. When in the height of its splendour, the city is said to have covered a space of twenty square miles ; and after making due allowance for the usual exaggeration of oriental description, ample remains to prove that at the period of its greatest prosperity, it was one of the largest, wealthiest and most splendid cities that ever existed. To this cause may be ascribed the ravages which have given it so conspicuous a place in the history of conquest. From the time of Mahomed Ghoory, to the year 1804, the city of Delhi was many times besieged, and generally given up almost immediately on the appearance of the enemy. Such was the case when Timour, having defeated Mahomed Toghluk, on the plain of Ferozabad, one of the suburbs of old Delhi, the chief men of the

city crowded to his camp to tender their submission, which was accepted: but some of the nobles and rich merchants shut themselves up in their houses, and refused to pay their portion of the ransom which had been levied by the conqueror. The Magistrates applied to Timour for troops to enforce their authority, but the arrival of the Mogul soldiers created confusion, plundering ensued, and the city was for five days the scene of great disorder. The Hindoos seeing their women disgraced, and their wealth seized by the soldiers, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and rushed upon their enemies; this brought on a general massacre, the gates were forced, and whole Mogul army obtained admittance; when the citizens seeing resistance to be useless, threw down their arms and submitted to their fate. The accounts given of the booty obtained from the city are incredible, but there can be no doubt it was very large, and the number of citizens who were carried away captives was extremely great. For two months the city suffered from pestilence and famine, after which such of the inhabitants who had fled returned to their homes. A similar tragedy again occurred one hundred and fifteen years ago, when Nadir Shah having obtained a complete victory over the Emperor Mahomed Shah at Kurnaul, the latter was compelled to tender his submission, and the conqueror obliged him to march in his train to Delhi, where he took up his residence in the royal palace. Nadir Shah appears to have taken every precaution for the protection of the inhabitants, but was not successful in conciliating them, for on the second day after the occupation of the city it was reported that Nadir Shah was dead, when the inhabitants fell upon the Persian troops who were scattered over the city to maintain peace, and many became sacrifices to the popular fury. Those in authority, so far from attempting to repress the tumult, gave up to be murdered, the guards, who had been furnished to protect their palaces. When Nadir Shah was informed of the insurrection, he did all in his power to quell it, but at length one of his chiefs having fallen at his side, from a shot directed against himself, he gave way to his





passions, and ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants. The number who were killed is variously estimated at from eight to one hundred and fifty thousand ; but tradition unanimously states it to have been not less than one hundred thousand. It is said that during the whole time of its perpetration, Nadir Shah sat in gloomy silence in the mosque of Rooshun-ood-Dowlah, situated in the Chandney Chowk, where the Emperor and his nobles at length ventured to approach him, and Mahomed Shah besought Nadir to spare the lives of his subjects. The tyrant being satiated with the carnage, issued an order to stop the massacre. He then took possession of the imperial treasures, amongst which was the celebrated Peacock Throne valued alone at £6,000,000. Nadir Shah, after having levied contributions from the provinces, was at last satisfied with the fruits of his conquest, but before returning to his own dominions, he reinstated Mahomed Shah, as Emperor, and married his son to a princess of the Timour family. After a residence of nearly two months he departed from Delhi, taking with him nearly ten millions sterling in money, besides gold and silver plate worth several millions more, jewels of inestimable value, valuable furniture, rich goods of every description, elephants, camels and horses, and some hundreds of most skilful of the artisans and workmen for which Delhi has long been celebrated.

Only seventeen years afterwards, in the reign of Alumghir the Second, Delhi was taken by Ahmed Shah Durani, when nearly all the horrors of Nadir Shah's invasion were again suffered by the unfortunate inhabitants. Shortly after the city was occupied by a Mahratta army under Ragoba, the brother of the Peishwa, and the fortified palace was besieged and held out for more than a month. The Mahrattas very shortly after, under Sedasheo Rao Bhao, again took Delhi after a short defence. The Bhao caused the shrines, tombs and palaces to be stripped of such of the rich ornaments as had escaped the cupidity of the Persians and Afghans : he caused the silver ceiling to be taken

down from the Divan Khas in the palace, and the metal coined into seventeen lacs of Rupees, and he also seized the throne and whatever else remained in the palace in the shape of plate or ornaments. In the year 1755 the Emperor Ahmed Shah was deposed, and deprived of his sight, by Ghazi-ood-deen Khan, an officer of high rank and ambitious character. He placed the next in descent of the house of Timour on the throne, under the title of Alumghir the Second, but retained the power and the revenues of the Empire in his own hands. The Emperor, soon tired of being a mere puppet in the hands of the Vizier, endeavored to throw off the yoke, by instigating the celebrated Ahmed Abdallee to invade the Empire, which he readily undertook with such a force as rendered any hopes of successful resistance futile on the part of the Vizier, who went out to welcome the invader whom he conducted into Delhi. Ghazi-ood-deen was speedily removed from the Viziership, which was conferred on Ali Ghour, the eldest son of the Emperor, but the deposed Minister contrived to ingratiate himself into the favor of Ahmed, who ordered that he should be reinstated in his office.

The Emperor remonstrated against this arbitrary command, but was powerless, and therefore obliged to submit to the indignity of seeing the badge of the Vizierate forcibly taken from the Prince and bestowed on Ghazi-ood-deen, who became more absolute and insolent than ever. After the departure of Ahmed Abdallee, Ali Ghour fled to Jhujgur, where he raised forces for his defence against the designs of the Vizier, who endeavoured to seize the person of the Prince, but after a stout resistance, he made his escape, and took refuge at the court of the Nawab Soojah-ood-Dowlah, the Ruler of Oude, who persuaded him to make an attempt to wrest Bengal from Jaffier Ali Khan. This brought the Prince into contact with the English, who were obliged to maintain Jaffier Ali Khan in the possession of the Government to which they had raised him, and Colonel Clive soon forced Ali Ghour to make a precipi-

tate retreat to the province of Allahabad, where most of his followers abandoned him, and he was reduced to extreme distress. In the year 1795, Ghazi-ood-deen Khan assassinated the Emperor Alumghire, and caused one of the descendants of the youngest son of Aurengzebe to be proclaimed Emperor, under the name of Shah Jehan the Second. The murderer did not however derive any advantage by his atrocious cruelty, for Ahmed Abdalee making himself master of the capital, the Vizier fled to Agra; but being closely pursued, he retired into the country of the Jauts, where he remained in hiding for the rest of his life. Ali Ghour now assumed the imperial title under the name of Shah Aulum, and appointed his friend Nawab Soojah-ood-Dowlah, Vizier. At his time, having failed in further attempts upon Bengal, he was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself to the English, who assigned him the city of Allahabad for his residence, with the province of Corah, and twenty-six lacs of rupees a year for his maintenance. He now remained five years in quiet, under the protection of the British Government, during which time Nujee-ool-Dowlah, his Viceroy, governed with great satisfaction to the inhabitants of the city of Delhi, and also with due regard to the interests of the Emperor. Shah Aulum was at last persuaded to return to Delhi, and accordingly on the twenty-fifth of December 1771, he made his entry with great pomp, into the imperial city, amidst the acclamations of a vast concourse of people. But he soon found cause to regret not having attended to the warnings of the British Government, and the entreaties of his Minister, not to place himself in the hands of the Mahrattas, who merely wished to make him the tool of their ambitious projects, for they quickly gave abundant proof of their arrogance, rapacity and treachery, forcing the abject Monarch not only to pardon the rebel Zabita Khan, but to raise him to the high rank of Ameer-ool-Omrah, in consideration of a large sum of money paid to them by the latter. After the death of

the faithful Minister, Mirza Nujuff Khan, the Court of Delhi became the scene of anarchy and confusion, from the perpetual contentions and intrigues of the rival Chiefs ; and the power of the wretched Monarch declined so rapidly, that he was obliged not only to remain " a passive spectator of these commotions, but to receive into favor, and to honor with distinction, men reeking from assassination and stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens." Their insolence and arrogance, particularly that of Afrasiab Khan, was such, that the unhappy Shah Aulum formed the resolution of again seeking the protection of the Mahrattas, and the Emperor removed his court to Agra, where Afrasiab Khan was assassinated at the instigation, it is said, of Madhaje Scindiah, upon whom the vacant office of Ameer-ool-Omrah was conferred. The death of the Minister was soon followed by that of Zabita Khan, whose son and successor, Gholaum Caudir, immediately on coming into possession of his estate, broke out into open rebellion, in which he was secretly encouraged by the Nazir of the household. In addition to this defection, the Raja of Jynugur asserted his independence, and defeated the combined Mahratta and Mogul forces under Scindiah, who sought safety in flight ; this gave an opportunity to Gholaum Caudir to approach the city, and he encamped on the opposite bank of the Jumna. The Governor, instead of making arrangements for the defence of the city, sent troops across to attack the rebels, but they sustained a shameful defeat, and the Governor abandoned the city. In this exigency, the Begum Sumroo, and a few other faithful adherents of the Emperor, behaved with such firmness and zeal that Gholaum Caudir, after having obtained admittance to the royal presence, and demanded the Viziership, was obliged to retire, disappointed, to his camp, breathing vengeance against opponents, and he immediately commenced bombarding the palace. At this time, the heir-apparent, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht was hastening by forced marches to the relief of his father. Of this the treacherous Nazir was aware, and recommended Gholaum Caudir to make his submission before the arrival of the

Prince. The Emperor at first refused to receive it, but the crafty Nazir at length prevailed on him to grant a royal pardon, and Gholaum Caudir instantly returned to Saharunpore, just at the time the Prince arrived to witness the weakness of his father, and the triumph of the rebel. Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht was immediately invested with the management of affairs, but the Emperor did not place that confidence in him which he deserved, and allowed himself to be imposed upon by the basest insinuations against the loyalty of his son, whom the wily Nazir represented as having designs upon the throne. The Prince, perceiving that he had lost the favor of his father, retired to Benares ; where a few months after he died of fever. Gholaum Caudir Khan, and Ismael Beg, another rebellious chief, learning from the Nazir that the Emperor had written to Scindiah for assistance, formed the diabolical design of deposing the Emperor and plundering the royal palace. They marched towards Delhi, and obtained possession of the city, palace, and person of the Emperor without any resistance on the part of the Mahratta garrison. A Treaty was drawn up by the rebel Chiefs, by which Gholaum Caudir Khan was to have the sole direction of affairs, and he pledged himself by oath to defend the Emperor and his interest against all opponents. The deluded Monarch, against the honest and urgent advice of Seetul Dass, the Treasurer of the household, ratified the Treaty, which was no sooner done than the guards were disarmed, the officers imprisoned, and the palace completely filled with the rebel troops. Shah Aulum remonstrated, but his complaints were treated with cruel mockery, and after many indignities he was compelled to quit the throne, a son of the Emperor Ahmed being raised to the imperial dignity under the title of Jehan Shah. When Gholaum Caudir found the treasury exhausted, and that the riches of the palace fell far short of his expectations, he caused the hapless, dethroned Shah Aulum to be brought before him in the hall of audience, and ordered him to confess where he had concealed his wealth.

The aged man pleaded in vain the poverty of himself and his family, and protested that nothing had been concealed. The miscreant, unsatisfied with these assertions, threatened the Emperor with the loss of his sight if he did not confess. To which the unfortunate old man replied, "What, will you rob me of those eyes which for a period of sixty years have been incessantly employed in studying the sacred Koran?" Unmoved by this, he stuck his dagger into one of the venerable man's eyes and ordered one of the Emperor's servants to put out the other eye; but on the man's refusing, he struck off his head with one blow of his sword, and the next to whom the command was given, deprived the hapless Shah Aulum of sight. But the day of retribution was at hand, for Scindiah, on hearing of all these horrors, ordered his army, under Rana Khan, to march on the Capital, where it arrived so speedily, that Gholaum Caudir \* had scarcely time to escape from the palace by a private passage, and retire to Meerut, taking with him Jehan Shah, other members of the royal family, and the faithless Nazir, whom he had deprived of his wealth and kept a close prisoner. Rana Khan and the Mahratta army followed the fugitive to Meerut, and invested the fort so closely, that the garrison began to mutiny. Gholaum Caudir, to avoid being given up to the enemy, made a sally at the head of five hundred cavalry, and managed to cut his way through the whole line of the besiegers and effect his escape; but his followers seeing the desperate state of his fortunes, quickly abandoned him, and he was soon left without a single attendant. At length, his horse being worn out with fatigue, stumbled, and fell, and the rebel was so severely bruised, as to be obliged to take refuge in a village, where, being recognised, he was made prisoner and delivered over to the Mahratta army. No threats could induce him to confess where he had secreted the plunder he had carried off. Rana Khan ordered him to be

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\* By the Fort of Selimghur through which first the rebel sepoys made their entrance to the last Emperor in May 1357.

loaded with manacles, and confined in a cage at the head of the army, from whom he received every insult and indignity the soldiers could inflict upon him. His eyes were torn from their sockets, and his nose, ears, hands, and feet were gradually cut off, till the wretch sunk under his sufferings. The Nazir also received the punishment due to his perfidious conduct, in inciting this rebellion, for as soon as Scindiah had resumed the reins of Government at Delhi, he caused the wretched man to be trodden to death under the feet of an elephant. After these acts of retributive justice had been executed, the blind Monarch was re-enthroned with much pomp and ceremony, in the Dewan Khas. The inhabitants of Delhi, notwithstanding they felt keenly the sufferings and indignities heaped upon the aged Emperor, were so overawed by the troops of the rebel, that they ventured no further than to show their discontent by lamentations and invectives against the usurper, and reproaches against the English for not rendering assistance. Although Shah Aulum was nominally restored to the sovereignty, Scindiah took care to retain all the power in his own hands, and it is said that out of the large revenues of the Emperor, only fifty thousand Rupees were allowed annually, for the support of the Emperor and his immense household, so that they were often in want of the necessaries of life. In the year 1803, the British Government assembled a large army under Lord Lake, in the vicinity of Kanouj, in order to be prepared for the expected rupture with the Mahrattas, and their ally Monsieur Perron, who commanded a force consisting of about 43,000 men and 464 guns, exclusive of the troops employed in garrisons : the Irregular Infantry, Mahrattas, &c. Hostilities at length commenced, and the English army encamped at Coel, where Monsieur Perron was strongly posted. An attack was made on his camp on the twenty-ninth of August, but the enemy abandoned the field without hazarding a general engagement. Monsieur Perron with his body guard retired to Agra, leaving Colonel Pedron to defend the fort of Allyghur to the last extremity. Lord Lake summoned Colonel Pedron to surrender the fort, but

he, in obedience to the orders he had received, determined to defend the place, which was hitherto considered impregnable, but after a most vigorous defence, it fell into the hands of the British army, the number of guns taken was two hundred and eighty-one, besides large stores of powder and shot, and some treasure. Immediately after the capture of Allyghur, Monsieur Perron wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, informing him that he had retired from the service of Scindiah, and asking permission to remove with his family and property to Lucknow, which was complied with, and the English were thus rid of one of their most dangerous enemies. The English army now marched towards Delhi, where, on the 11th of September 1803, was fought a battle, with a division of Monsieur Perron's troops under the command of Monsieur Louis Bourquien, whose force amounted to nineteen thousand, of whom six thousand were cavalry, while that of the English was no more than four thousand five hundred. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the intensity of the heat, and their having been under arms for seventeen hours, the English army overcame every obstacle, and the enemy were put to the rout, abandoning all their artillery and stores to the victors. Amongst the spoils were sixty-eight guns, sixty-one tumbrils of ammunition, and two tumbrils of treasure. After the battle, which could be distinctly seen from the towers of Delhi, the army encamped on the banks of the Jumna, opposite the city. The result of the action was the evacuation of the city and fort by the enemy, and Monsieur Louis Bourquien, with four other French officers, was obliged to solicit British protection from the effects of popular resentment. The Emperor Shah Aulum, immediately after the battle, sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief, expressive of joy at the victory which had been obtained over his oppressors, and soliciting the aid and protection of the British Government, which was readily promised by his Excellency. The deliverance of their Emperor from the combined tyranny of the French Officers and the Mahrattas, was the cause of great rejoicing to the inhabitants of Delhi, and an




immense concourse of people assembled to witness the procession of the Commander-in-Chief, when he went to pay a visit of ceremony to the Emperor in the palace. The British Government adopted the necessary measures for the support of the Emperor and his family, and the security of the capital. Towards the close of the year 1804, Holkar besieged Delhi with brigades of regular infantry, and a large train of artillery, and the operations were pressed on with great exertion, in the hope that he might obtain possession of the person of the Emperor before the English could come to his rescue. The city was gallantly defended by Colonel Ochterlony, the British Resident at the Court of Delhi, and by Colonel Burn, who commanded the garrison. On the first approach of Holkar, Colonel Ochterlony called in the troops from Saharunpore, Rohtuk, and Paneeput. The walls of the capital were at this time in a very dilapidated state, but Colonel Ochterlony selected such of the bastions as appeared most commanding, and caused them to be widened and strengthened for the reception of artillery. But little time was afforded for these preparations, yet two redoubts were constructed at the Ajmere and Turkoman gates, which were afterwards of essential service. On the morning of the seventh of October, Holkar's horse made their appearance before Delhi, and the English troops prepared to retire within the walls, a party being sent off to reconnoitre the force and position of the enemy. Had an attack been at once made, great advantages might have been obtained, but the troops refused to follow their officers and retreated to the city, while a party who were stationed at the old fort deserted. The next morning the infantry and artillery of Holkar arrived, and a strong detachment commenced a heavy cannonade against the south-east angle of the city wall, and thirty or forty feet of the parapet was levelled, but more guns having been sent thither, the enemy were compelled to withdraw. During the night they erected breaching batteries, which completely destroyed the parapet. Within the walls strenuous exer-

tions were made to repair the breaches and strengthen the defences on the side of the city. On the evening of the tenth, a sally was made by 400 men under seven officers, who succeeded in obtaining possession of the battery, and having spiked the guns retired with but little loss. In the course of the same day a battery was erected by the besieged toward the south-east bastion, which kept the enemy in check, but next morning, they commenced a heavy fire from the battery which had been stormed the evening before ; they were however soon silenced by a well directed fire from our new battery, and the whole moved off to carry on their operations against the southern face of the city, where their heaviest guns and large bodies of infantry were posted, under cover of gardens and ruins. They at length effected a breach between the Turcoman and Ajmere gates, but the activity of the besieged soon prevented all communication by it to the city, except along the ramparts. During the thirteenth all was quiet, and a serious attack was consequently expected, and the garrison were kept in a state of constant guard ; nor were these precautions unnecessary, for at break of day on the fourteenth, all the enemy's guns opened upon the city, and under cover of the fire a large body of infantry, with scaling ladders, made an assault on the Lahore gate, but were repulsed with considerable loss. In order to distract our attention from the real point of attack a feint was made, as if they intended the assault to be made at the Ajmere gate, and the officer commanding that post was mortally wounded by a cannon ball. During the day a demonstration was made by the enemy of an attack towards the Cashmere gate, but the besieged soon prepared to receive them by mounting some guns on the bastions on that side, and a six pounder was placed on the Lahore and Ajmere gates to check any attempt to storm that quarter ; but the approach of the English army compelled Holkar to raise the siege, and before daybreak on the fifteenth his troops had retired, and his rear guard could only be seen in the distance. The brave garrison were thus relieved from great danger, as the besiegers had pre-

pared three mines between the Ajmere and Turcoman gates, which were ready to be loaded, and in addition to this the inhabitants of the city and household troops were showing symptoms of disaffection. Had the enemy succeeded in taking the city, the garrison were ordered to retire into the palace, but, this was happily rendered unnecessary by the retirement of Holkar. Thus ended this siege,\* which was defended for nine days by a garrison numerically weak, but strong in resolution and endurance, against a well-prepared and desperate enemy.

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\* Exactly the reverse of things in August 1857, when the garrison was enormously strong and the besiegers numerically weak.



## CHAPTER II.

### DESCRIPTION OF DELHI.

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The modern City of Delhi is situated in latitude $28^{\circ} 38'$ north, and longitude $77^{\circ} 13'$ east, on the western banks of the river Jumna. It was founded by the Emperor Shah Jehan,^{*} about the year 1620 A. D., and by him named Shahjehanabad ; but it is now almost always styled after the name of the reputed Founder of the ancient city. The materials were for the most part supplied from the ruins of the old cities. It was originally encompassed by walls of brick, and to some extent fortified, but since it came into the possession of the English, it has been regularly fortified, though no guns are now mounted on the towers and bastions. The city is about seven miles in circumference, and has several gateways, named respectively the Cashmere, Delhi, Calcutta, Lahore, Ajmere, Cabul and Turcoman gates ; the five first are the principal, the Calcutta and Lahore gates having double roadways, one for ingress the other for egress, and it is hoped the same improvement may soon be made at the Cashmere gate, it being the thoroughfare to the cantonments. Delhi contains many good houses, mostly built of brick, amongst others is the Palace of the late Begum Sumroo, situated in the centre of an extensive garden near the Chandnee Chowk : it is now occupied by the Delhi Bank. The principal street, called the Chandnee Chowk, is probably the finest in the East, it being about a mile in length and 120 feet broad ; it was formerly intersected by an aqueduct * down the centre, and supplied with water from Ali

* Since covered over and converted into a fine trottoir.

Murdan Khan's canal.* It, as well as some of the other principal streets, is well drained, swept, and watered daily. When the garrison of Delhi were cantoned in Duryao-gunge, to the south of the Palace, the Chandnee Chowk was used as a Mall by the European residents, but now only by the rich natives, many of whom take their airing in English carriages and buggies. The street leading from the Palace to the Delhi gate of the city is about five furlongs in length, and ninety feet broad, and was formerly second only to the Chandnee Chowk in importance ; but since the garrison has been cantoned at Rajpore, about two miles west of the city, it has declined.† The Darebah lead-

* In a note to Bernier's Travels we read :—" During the splendid era of Delhi the inhabitants who resided at a distance from the Jumna which skirted only one of its angles, experienced much difficulty in procuring river water, that of the wells not being esteemed so salubrious. Ali Murdan surveyed the land to the westward and saw that a sluice opened from the Jumna where the river approaches Kurnal would from the declivity of the ground introduce water into the back part of the city and conduct it through all the quarters. The design was put into execution, and Ali Murdan was allowed to levy a tax on the houses enjoying the uses of the canal in order to keep it in repair. The canal did not fall into decay until the period of the Persian and Affghan invasions."

Major Colvin writes that the canal shortly after entering on and skirting the base of the hills west of Delhi (the drainage of which crosses over the canal by ancient aqueducts) is finally led directly across the ridge by a channel cut out in the rock to the depth of about 60 feet at the crest ; it then enters the city, and passing through it by an open channel traverses along another extensive aqueduct into the palace, throughout the whole of which it ramifies in open or covered water-courses, having outlets on the Jumna thus permitting the passage of constant streams of fresh water. Similar to these in the space between the range of hills and the palace, numerous underground channels were led off to the various residences of the nobles and the divisions of the city, yielding to the whole city and its suburbs a supply of good water from the open well shafts connected with these underground water-courses necessary to admit of their being cleared out.

The above was written in 1833. The decay of the branches of the canal was gradual, but inevitable from the distractions of the Empire. The occasional attempts at repair made in the intervals of political quiet were quite insufficient to meet the growing natural difficulties, otherwise the lapse of a century would not have sufficed to obliterate all traces of general irrigation.—EDITOR.

† The prosperity of these streets has much declined since the Mutiny.

ing from the Chandnee Chowk to the Jumma Musjid is narrow, but always presents a crowded and busy scene : many of the shops to the south end of it belong to lapidaries and gold and silver beaters. Further on, in the same direction, is the Khanum Bazaar, where may be obtained looking-glasses, sandal-wood boxes, Benares and Delhi toys. Near the Jumma Musjid, in the street on the north, the shops are mostly those of the makers of cot-legs and wedding boxes, with two or three fire-work manufacturers, confectioners' shops, and consequently flies abound in this quarter. The street leading from the Jumma Musjid to the Ajmere gate is one of the best in the city. About the place where it branches off from the mosque, a great number of choori-wallas, or bangle-makers, have located themselves ; further west are the brass and iron merchants, their stores consisting of lotahs, tawahs, and other vessels peculiarly native, with bar, rod and sheet iron, screws, nails, &c. Further on is a market always well supplied with such vegetables as are in season and demand by the native population. At the west end of the Chandnee Chowk, is a large and somewhat ruinous Mosque, called the Futtehpoorie Musjid ; beyond it, towards the Lahore gate, on each side of the road, are the stores of the dealers in grain, and the shops of punsaries, or druggists. Opposite the north gate of the Futtehpoorie Musjid is a gateway, which leads to the principal mart for European piece goods, and another Bazaar of the same description is situated on the south side, and near the centre of the Chandnee Chowk.* The road from the palace towards north-west, leads over a bridge spanning the west Jumna canal, on the banks of which are numerous flour mills worked by the stream. Down a lane immediately to the left, is the mohulla occupied by paper-makers ; further on is the old burying-ground, crowded with tombs of all patterns and sizes. Immediately adjoining is the magazine, which contains a good armoury, and can furnish fourteen thousand

* The portion is hardly recognizable, being almost entirely demolished for the Railway.

stand of arms. After the dreadful accident which occurred at Benares in 1850, by the explosion of the magazine boats, containing a large quantity of gunpowder and other military stores, the inhabitants of Delhi petitioned the Government of India to remove the stock of gunpowder out of the city, and consequently a powder magazine has been erected at a distance, and only a small quantity of the dangerous material is now kept in the magazine, and as a further protection, lightning-conductors have been erected over the building in which it is stored. * Next to the magazine is the college † ; this is a large irregular building, formerly the palace of Ali Murdan Khan, a Persian nobleman attached to the Court of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and which was afterwards occupied by several of the Residents of Delhi, but now is one of the principal educational establishments in Hindostan. Continuing our progress towards the Cashmere gate, we come to the Church, a neat and commodious structure, erected by the munificence of the late Colonel Skinner, C. B., whose residence is nearly opposite to it. Behind the Church, and on the banks of the river, was the Delhi Gazette Press.

THE JUMMA MUSJID.

Near the centre of the city and about two furlongs from the Delhi gate of the palace, stands the Jumma Musjid, or great

* The magazine which Willoughby ordered to be blown up.

† Now occupied by troops.

Note to the Jumma Musjid.—The view from the summit of one of its minarets embraces an amphitheatre of historic relics of unsurpassed extent. On a clear day may be discerned the Kootub Minar, Poorana Killa, Humaion's Tomb, Sufdur Jung's Mausoleum, with other hundred domes and cupolas dotting the plains, and as the eye falls on the now famous heights passing from the Junter Munter and the great square of the Edgah, there become visible Hindoo Rao's house, the Observatory, the Mosque picquet and the Flag Staff tower of glorious and tragic memorial; the whole interior of the Palace, the Meerut side of the Jumna and the ruins of Ferozabad are also embraced in the panorama, in the distance of which there is a wilderness of monuments belonging to different ages. The great Mosque is consi-

Mosque, which in size and beauty corresponds with the magnificence of Delhi in the time of its founder. It is built on a rocky eminence, called the Jujula Pahar, the surface of which was levelled to form the site, which being higher than the surrounding houses, the Mosque can be seen at a considerable distance on every side of the city. It has three entrances by handsome gateways of red sandstone, which are approached by magnificent flights of steps of the same material. The principal gateway is on the east side, and is much larger and handsomer than those on the north and south; they all lead into a larger quadrangle, paved with fine large sandstone flags, in the centre of which is a marble reservoir of water, in which the Mussulmans make the ablutions required by their creed, before performing their devotions. The necessary supply of water is drawn by a Persian wheel, turned by bullocks, from a deep well cut at great expense, out of the solid rock in one corner of the building, and is thrown into the reservoir through a fountain pipe in the centre. On the west side of the square stands the Mosque itself, which is of an oblong form, 201 feet in length and 120 feet broad, and surmounted by three superb cupolas of white marble, crowned with cullisses or spires of copper richly gilded. The front of the building is partly faced with white marble, and along the cornice are ten compartments, each 4 feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, which are inlaid with black marble inscriptions in the Niski character, and are said to contain the whole of the Koran, but they really give an account of the expenditure, &c. in building the Mosque. The interior is paved throughout with slabs of white marble, 3 feet long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, each decorated with a black border, which gives it an extremely beautiful appearance. Part of the inner walls is also faced with plain white marble. Near the Kibla, or that part which indicates the direction of the city of Mecca, is a

dered the most complete specimen of the Mogul type of architecture which was carried to such unrivalled perfection by Shah Jehan. If it lacks the austere magnificence and rugged profusion of ornament of the old Pathans, it compensates for these in presenting a model of symmetry and elegance allowing of a variety of graceful outlines hardly equalled by any other structure.

handsome taq, or niche, adorned with a profusion of rich frieze work, and though joined in several places, appears to have been cut out of a solid block of white marble, four feet high and six in length.

The Mosque is flanked by two minarets one hundred and thirty feet high, composed of white marble and red stone placed vertically in alternate stripes, and access is obtained to the top of them by flights of narrow steps of red stone in the interior ; at about equal distances there are three projecting galleries, and they are crowned with light pavilions of white marble.

Three sides of the terrace on which this magnificent Edifice stands, are enclosed by a colonade of red sandstone, and each corner is ornamented by octagonal pavilions of white marble, the supporting columns being of red stone. In the quadrangle at the north-east and south-east angles, are low pillars, on the top of which are fixed marble slabs, on one of which is engraved the eastern hemisphere, on the other there are marked certain hour lines : each has an upright iron spike or gnomon, and the shadow shewn by the sun indicates to the Faithful the time of prayer. No native, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, dare venture to enter the quadrangle without taking off his shoes, but Europeans are not required to shew this oriental mark of respect to the temple of the prophet of Islamism.

* Every part of the Mosque is accessible to the visitor, except that portion of the square in the north-west angle, which is partitioned off by a beautifully carved white marble screen ; beyond which are several rooms, in which are deposited some relics, said to be some hair, a cloak, and a pair of slippers of the Prophet, some hair of Ali Hosein and Hasun, certain chapters of the


* These were all taken away, but restored by one of the Faithful into whose hands they had fallen. The slippers, the hair, and the sacred manuscripts, are still to be seen.

Koran written by Ali Hosein and Hasun, impressions of the Prophet's foot on stone, and some others of minor importance.

On certain great Mahomedan festivals, the King used to go in state to the Mosque, and it was an interesting sight to view the whole of the quadrangle filled with Mussulmans dressed in their best and gayest attire, marshalled in straight lines, and ready to perform their devotions. When the chief Moulvees mounted the pulpit, the whole audience was hushed in a deep and impressive silence for a short time; the Moulvees then chanted the prayers and performed the genuflexions enjoined, in which the whole assembly joined as one man.

On the flights of steps to the east and south sides of the building, a market used to be held every evening, where fowls, pigeons, singing birds, cotton cloths, chintzes of Manchester and native manufacture, pedlar's wares, smoking hot kubabs, bread, lithographed Oordoo and Persian books, sweetmeats, toys, and even old clothes were exposed for sale.

This splendid pile was begun by the Emperor Shah Jehan, in the fourth, and finished in the tenth year of his reign, and cost the princely sum of ten lacs of rupees or £100,000, and a similar building could not be erected in England for four times the amount.



THE PALACE.

BEFORE THE MUTINIES—THE GATEWAY.

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The Palace of the Emperors of the Timour dynasty is situated on the western bank of the river Jumna, and is surrounded on the other sides by a lofty wall of red stone, surmounted at intervals by pavilions of the same material.\* It has two principal entrances, called the Lahore and Delhi gates. Bernier informs us, that at the time he was residing at the Court of Delhi, nearly two hundred years ago, the entrance of the Delhi gate † was ornamented by sculptures in stone of two elephants, on one of which was seated the statue of Jemull, the celebrated Rajah of Chittore, and on the other that of his brother Potta. These heroes, with their brave mother, after a long and obstinate resistance to the arms of the Emperor Akbar, being at length reduced to extremities, preferred perishing in sallies against the enemy, to submission to the invader. The religious prejudices of the Emperor Aurengzebe caused the removal of the sculptures, and in all probability their destruction, and at the same time he ordered the place where they stood to be enclosed by a screen of red sandstone, which strengthened, if it did not beautify the approaches to the palace. The entrance to the principal or Lahore gate is approached through a similar out-work, or barbican. It consists of a large gothic arch, surmounted by a tower, ornamented with pavilions of red stone on the top. Within this tower apartments were fitted up as the residence of the commandant of the palace guards. The gateway leads into a long and lofty vaulted aisle, or vesti-

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\* The upper rooms in the Delhi gate were occupied by Captain Douglas in command of the Palace guards, who was among the first sufferers in the outbreak of 1857. The Revd. Mr. Jennings, daughter, Miss Clifford, and others were massacred in those rooms.

† These have lately been excavated. *Vide* page iv.

bule, having an octagonal opening or lantern, in the centre, for ventilation and the admission of light ; the walls of this court are whitewashed and covered with painting of flowers, &c., but they are sadly out of keeping with the really grand vestibule which leads into a courtyard, on the further side of which stands the Noubut-khanah\*, or music gallery. Under this you pass through a large gateway into the courtyard of the Dewan Aum, or hall of public audience, where all classes of the people sought justice. It is a large hall, open on three sides, supported by rows of red stone pillars, formerly adorned with gilding and stucco work, but now covered with whitewash. In the wall, at the back, is a staircase that leads up to the throne, which is raised about 10 feet from the ground, and is covered by a canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole being curiously inlaid with mosaic work. Behind the throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from his private apartment. The whole of the wall behind the throne is covered with mosaic paintings in precious stones of some of the most beautiful flowers, fruits, birds, and beasts of Hindostan, most of them represented in a very natural manner. They were executed by Austin de Bordeaux, who, after defrauding several of the Princes of Europe by means of false gems which he fabricated with great skill, sought refuge at the Court of Shah Jehan, where he made his fortune, and was in high favor with the Emperor, as is shewn by his having been permitted to introduce his own picture in mosaic, playing upon the violin, amongst the other works on the wall. In front of the throne and slightly raised above the floor of the hall, is a large slab of white marble, which was formerly richly inlaid with mosaic work, but of which the traces only now remain. On this divan stood the Secretaries of the Grand Vizier, to hand up to the throne the petitions which were presented, and to record the commands that might be given. Every

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\* Underneath this is the tree once looking over a small Tank where forty-five women and children were cut to pieces with swords in June 1857. The Shahsadae looking on at the spectacle from the gallery above.

day, about noon, the Emperor sat on this throne to administer justice.

In the courtyard of the Aum Khas,\* the cavalry of the great lords frequently passed in review before the Emperor; the horsemen arrayed in their best clothing and appointments, and the horses furnished with armour and decorated with showy trappings. Here also were paraded for inspection the royal horses in splendid array, elephants covered with jhools of richly embroidered cloth, bearing howdahs of gold and silver, their foreheads painted with gay colors, their ears bearing chowries formed from the white bushy tail of the yak, or Thibet ox, and their necks, massive silver chains, to either end of which was attached a silver bell, marched in stately procession round the area; as they successively came before the throne, at the command of the mahout, they bent one knee, raised the proboscis in the air and trumpeted. After these came tame antelopes trained to fight with each other, neelghies, rhinoceroses, large buffaloes intended to combat with tigers, cheetas or tame leopards employed in hunting deer, sporting dogs of many species, and lastly, the falconers, bearing on their wrists every kind of bird used in that sport.

The Divan Khas,† or the hall of audience, peculiarly set apart for the reception of the nobility, is situated to the east of the

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\* See Description of Bernier of the Aum-Khas, in the time of the Great Mogul Aurengzebe. *Vide* page x. Bernier's description.

† Here, says Sleeman in his *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, sat Aurengzebe when he ordered the assassination of his brothers Dara and Morad, and the imprisonment and destruction by slow poison of his son Mahomed who had so often fought bravely by his side in battle.

Here also but a few months before had sat the great Shah Jehan to receive the insolent commands of this same grandson Mahomed when flushed with victory, and to offer him the throne merely to destroy the hopes of the youth's father Aurengzebe. Here stood in chains the graceful Sooleman to receive his sentence of death by slow poison with his poor young brother Sipehei Shikh who had shared all his father's toils, and witnessed his brutal murder. Here sat Mahomed Shah (buried at Nizamooddeen's tomb) bandying compliments with his ferocious conqueror Nadir

Aum Khas, in a quadrangle of moderate dimensions. The building is a very beautiful pavilion of white marble, supported on massive pillars of the same material, the whole of which, with the connecting arches, are richly ornamented with flowers of inlaid mosaic work of different colored stones and gilding ; it is raised on a terrace four feet high, the floor of which is composed of large flags of white marble. Between each of the front row of pillars is a balustrade of marble, chastely carved in several designs of perforated work. The top of the building is ornamented with four marble pavilions with gilt cupolas ; the ceiling of the pavilion was originally completely covered with silver filagree work, in the working of which the Delhi silversmiths are still famous. On the cornice, at each end of the interior hall, is sculptured in letters of gold and in the Persian language : “ If there be a Paradise upon earth, it is this—it is this—it is this.”

In this hall was the famous Peacock Throne, so called from its having the figures of two peacocks standing behind it, their tails being expanded, and the whole, so inlaid with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls and other precious stones of appropriate colors, as to represent the life. The Throne itself was six feet long and four broad ; it stood on six massive feet, which, with the body, were of solid gold, inlaid with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. It was surmounted by a canopy of gold, supported by twelve pillars, all richly emblazoned with costly gems, and a fringe of pearls ornamented the borders of the canopy. Between the two peacocks stood the figure of a parrot, of the ordinary size, said to have been carved out of a single emerald ; on either side of the throne stood a chatta or umbrella, one of the oriental emblems of royalty ; they were formed of crimson velvet richly embroidered and fringed with pearls, the handles were eight feet high, of solid gold, and studded with diamonds.

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Shah, who had destroyed his armies, plundered his treasury, usurped his throne, and ordered the murder of one hundred thousand people in a general massacre.—ED.

The cost of this superb work of art has been variously estimated at sums from one to six millions of pounds sterling. It was planned and executed under the supervision of the same Austin de Bordeaux.

Here, then, enthroned in state the Great Mogul daily appeared, arrayed in the most sumptuous attire, sparkling in jewels, many of them of unparalleled beauty and of enormous value, surrounded by all the great lords in attendance at Court; the arbiter of the destinies of millions of subjects, his nod was law, and his command the signal of happiness or woe to those whom it regarded; it was here also that the rebel Gholam Cauder brutally knocked down the aged Emperor Shah Aulum, and deprived him of sight; and under a tattered canopy in this hall, shorn of all the magnificence of his ancestors, sat the blind, feeble Monarch to receive the visit of Lord Lake after the battle of Delhi. At the back of the hall lies an immense block of crystal,\* which is said to have been almost without a flaw, until it was much injured by those Vandals, the Mahrattas, who placed fire upon it, causing it to crack in many parts.

Close to the Divan Khas is the private Mosque for the use of the Emperor and royal family. It is a small building of marble with gilt cupolas.† From it he is conducted to the gardens, which are extensive, and were formerly adorned with splendid pavilions, fountains, miniature cascades, so constructed that the sheet of water fell over a number of lamps placed in recesses in the wall behind, and marble baths.‡

On the east of the palace, and separated from it by a branch of the Jumna, stand the ruins of the fort of Selim Ghur, an

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\* A piece preserved in the Museum, the slab was sent to Her Majesty.

† This is one of the most beautiful specimens extant of the latest Mogul style. The interior is almost entirely preserved. Opposite are the marble-inlaid bath-rooms of the Zenana. Beresford has omitted to notice the marble baths.

‡ A most beautiful little Mosque of exquisite proportions.

ancient Pathan fortress, from a sally post of which Gholam Cauder contrived to effect his escape, after he had committed the enormities already related. \*

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FEROZE SHAH'S LAT.

About half a mile from the Delhi gate of the city, stand the ruins of the Palace of Feroze Shah, who commenced his reign on the 28rd March 1351, and died about the year 1388. The most conspicuous object amongst these ruins is a building, on the top of which is placed a stone pillar or Lāt of one single piece, on which are inscriptions in a very ancient character that long defied the ingenuity of the learned to decipher. The first sensation on viewing this immense block of stone is that of wonder, as to when, where, and how it could have been quarried; and next, by what means it was raised to its present position. Of the former but little is known, but fortunately we have an excellent translation by Captain H. Lewis, of the Bengal Artillery, of Shems-i-Seraj Ufeef's biography of the Emperor Feroze Shah, in which the author declares he was twelve years of age when the Lāt was set up, and was therefore, in all probability, an eye-witness of some of the operations. He describes as follows:—

“ There were in the neighbourhood of Delhi, one near the village of Topur in the district of Salowrah and Khizrabad, and the other near Meerut, two very curious stone columns, which the King, after expending an enormous amount of treasure and labour, brought and set up, the one within the palace of Ferozabad, close to the Jumma Musjid, calling it the Meenar-i-Jureen, and the other in his hunting palace (Koshuk Shikar). These columns were reported by Hindoo writers, to be the walking-sticks or crooks of a Hindoo shepherd, by name Bheem, who

* The above description is interesting as exhibiting the interior of the Palace the year previous to the Mutinies.

used them in tending his flocks, and on his death the Hindoos are said to have placed them where they then stood for the purpose of worshipping them. Sultan Feroze had gone towards Salowrah and Khizrabad, the latter being ninety kos from Delhi, and had alighted at the village of Toperah, when his attention was first attracted to the column in that vicinity, and he immediately made arrangements to remove it. A number of men were collected for the purpose, both from without and within the Doab. A quantity of Semul cotton was first piled around the column, its foundations were then loosened, and it was made to lean upon the cotton, which being gradually withdrawn from under it, in a few days it was laid flat upon the ground. On digging under the spot where it stood, a large square stone was found, which was also removed. The column was then bound round with pieces of wood and the bark of trees. A carriage was next prepared with forty-two wheels, upon which the pillar was placed with great labour and difficulty. A heavy rope being attached to each wheel and twenty-two men told off to each rope, the carriage was made to progress to the bank of the Jumna which was near Toperah. There a number of boats or rafts had been collected, some calculated to hold as many as 7,000 maunds ; upon these, the pillar was placed and floated down to the palace of Ferozabad, in which a building was then commenced on which to erect it. The author was at this time twelve years of age. The building consisted of several stories, and as each story was complete, the pillar was raised to the top of it. The whole being finished, arrangements were made for setting it up : strong ropes were fastened to the top of it, which were connected with some windlasses, the latter being made to revolve, it was gradually raised ; blocks of wood and Semul cotton being placed under it as it rose, to prevent it falling again. The square stone which had been found under it, was replaced in a similar position ; when erect, a strong scaffolding was constructed round the column, and the top of it was ornamented with black and white stone work, surmounted by a gilt kulus made of copper. The total length of the column was thirty-two guz, eight guz being sunk into the

building, and twenty-four above the surface. There were a number of curious characters upon the column, to decypher which, the King assembled a number of learned Brahmins, but none of them were able to explain their meaning. Some however interpreted the writing to signify, that no one would ever succeed in removing the pillar from the spot on which it originally stood, until a King should be born by name Feroze Shah. The other column, which was brought from Meerut, in the Doab, was smaller than that just described. It was set up on the top of a hill, in the Koshuk Shikar, which after this became a considerable town, a number of the nobles building their houses in it. Many former Kings have thus handed down their names to posterity by some magnificent public work. Thus Sultan Shums-uddeen Altumsh built a very high Meenar in the Jumma Musjid of Old Delhi, as is known to every one. When Ameer Taimur came to Delhi from Khorasan, his attention was particularly attracted by those two columns, and he is said to have remarked, that he had not seen two such monuments in any of the countries he had traversed."

The following is the traditionary account, generally adopted by the natives, of the origin of the Lāt. In the age of the El-kufoors, there lived in the neighbourhood of Delhi a shepherd, by name Bheem Malahun, who was a giant among giants; he was so strong that he could lift an elephant with his spear, and hurl him with ease from east to west, and his size was such that he required 80,000 pounds of food per diem to appease his appetite. He was employed in herding the cattle of his five brothers, and the animals of those days being of gigantic size also, Bheem Malahun made two stone Lāts, or walking-sticks, with which to drive them. When Bheem departed this life for the infernal regions, he left his walking-sticks behind him as memorials of his existence, and his people, the El-kufoors having held a long consultation regarding their disposal, it was resolved that the Lāts should be set up, the one at Khirzabad and the other near Meerut. The Sultan Feroze Shah caused them both to be

brought to Delhi, the largest being placed on the top of a building erected for the purpose in the palace at Ferozabad, and the smaller was set up in the Koshuk Shikar.

The second, or smaller Lāt here mentioned, was thrown down and broken into several pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine. Five of these pieces were dug out of the ruins of an old baoli or well, and may be seen still there on the road-side in front of the Maharaj Hindoo Rao's residence to the west of the city; the aggregate length of the remains of this minar is 29 feet 8 inches, and the diameter 2 feet 8½ inches. The Pali inscriptions upon it are now nearly effaced, but they are said to have been exact duplicates of those on the Minar Zureen, as Feroze Shah's Lāt is sometimes called. It is not certain where the Koshuk Shikar stood, but there is reason to suppose that its site must have been on the hill where the Maharaj's house stands, near which is a subterraneous passage said to lead to the palace in the new city, but more probably it is the outlet of one of the subterraneous passage which branch off from the bottom of a treasure well in the Jumma Musjid of Ferozabad.

The following is a verbal translation of one of the inscriptions on Feroze Shah's Lāt.

> There are numerous historical proofs supported by the strongest evidence that there could not have been less than thirteen towns in the neighbourhood of the present Delhi. The historians of the Indo-Mahomedan ages have placed many of them on record. We find that Kootub-ood-deen Eibak the first permanent Mahomedan conqueror, and his almost immediate successor Shums-ood-deen Altumsh, both inhabited the fort wrested from Rajah Peethowra Peerthee Raj—from (1191 to 123) we find that Gheias-ood-deen Bulbun (1266-1286) erected another fort and built another town "in which were magnificent buildings," among them the celebrated Ruby or Red Palace; this town it is conjectured must be the one so long designated in after ages, and

when new cities had sprung up, as "Old Delhi,"* and the site may be traced through the existence of Gheiaspoor near Hoomaiyoon's tomb and the Deenpunnah fort. We find that Kaikobad his grandson (1286-88) fitted up a Palace at Kelokeree (Gunglookheree, according to the Ayeen Akhberee), the site of which is clearly indicated by a remark in that work to the effect that Hoomaiyoon's tomb was within its limits, and this indication is confirmed by the existence of a place of that name, a little beyond Gheiaspoor. The palace built by Kaikobad was then so close to the river that his body was thrown out of one of the windows into the stream.† We find that his successor, Julal-ood-deen Feroze (1288-95), having no confidence in the loyalty of the people of Delhi (the Delhi of Gheias-ood-deen Bulbun?) continued to reside at Kelakheree; this he strengthened with fortifications, and beautified with fine gardens, and terraced walks by the side of the river. It is said that the owners followed their King's example, and built houses around his palace, so that Kelokheree became known as the new city (of Delhi), and that Julal-ood-deen having been induced, by the conduct of the neighbouring citizens his subjects, to place greater confidence in them, went on an appointed day to "Old Delhi," where he ascended the throne in the Palace; refusing at the same time to take possession of the "Ruby Palace," on the ground that it was the private property of the family of Gheias-ood-deen Bulbun. He returned to Kelokheree in the evening of the *same day*, so that "Old Delhi," and Kelokheree must have been very near each other, another presumptive proof in favor of Gheiaspoor of the present

* Note to the description of Ancient Delhi.—See Asiatic Journal, September, 1847, containing some account of Ferozabad, and see the site of other towns in the vicinity of Delhi by H. Cope.—ED.

† The Jumna has taken a considerable turn eastward since then. There is pretty conclusive evidence that, at one time, the main stream flowed by Ferozabad. Deenpunnah, Kelokheree and Mobarikabad, forming doubtless, on account of the huge bund inland or westward, a very fine sheet of water.—H. C.—H. L.—ED.

day being "Old Delhi."* We find that on the murder of Jellal-ood-deen at Manikpoor, by his nephew, the famous Allah-ood-deen Ghilzaie, the widow of the former proclaimed her young son King, and accompanying him from Kelokheree to Delhi, that is from the then new, to the old city, seated him on the throne in the "Green Palace," so that there were at the time no less than three royal Residences in the same town:—one *the* Palace (in which Jellal-ood-deen ascended the throne, and which may have been the "White Palace" mentioned in the reign of Moez-ood-deen Barran,) the "Ruby Palace," so often alluded to, and the "Green Palace." Allah-ood-deen, on the flight of his young cousin, entered Delhi in triumph, and ascended the throne in the "Ruby Palace," (1296-1316.) We find it mentioned in the Ayeen Akhberee, though the fact is singularly enough not even alluded to in *Ferishta*, that this Allah-ood-deen built the town and fort of "Secree," and the site of this place is most clearly fixed by the record in a subsequent part of *Ferishta*, that the tomb of Kootub-ood-deen Bukhtear Kakee (the saint to whom pilgrimages are still made at the Kootub village, so well known for its splendid Kootub-meenar) was situate in the fort of Secree. Another collateral proof of this location is that the tomb of Allah-ood-deen is still in the partial existence near Meenar. It is recorded of Allah-ood-deen, that Palaces, Mosques, Universities, Baths, Mousolea, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings sprang up, during his reign, as if by magic. After Secree follow Toglukabad (1322), Mahomedabad (1325-1351), Adilabad and Feerozabad (1354), all pretty well known, and of which last, more hereafter. Ten years after the death of the founder of Feerozabad occurred the invasion of Taimoor (1398), of which we have ample records in that King's own institutes and in the work of Shereef-ood-deen. Alee-Yazdu who singularly enough gives details regarding the then state of Delhi, which are not to be found in any other work, and the details which he

* The "Old Delhi," here and elsewhere alluded to, must not be confounded with the town now so called, which will prove to have been founded by Sher Shah.—H. C.—H. L.—Ed.

gives respecting Secree, Jehanpunnah, the Houz-khan, and Old Delhi, will be most valuable in hereafter identifying the ground on which these several places were situate. After this we leave Mubareekabad, built by the second Saiud, in 1436, on the banks of the Jumna, the site of which must have been most likely, either below Kelokheree, or above Ferozabad. We find that Hoomaiyoon *built* (1533) according to Abul Fazl, (but *repaired* would probably be the more correct expression, as this will probably be found to have been the fort of "Old Delhi" or "Gheiaspoor") the fort of Indraput, which he called "Deenpunnah;" that on his expulsion by Sher Shah (Abul Fazl calls him merely Sher Khan, looking upon him in the light of an usurper,) that sovereign destroyed Secree, the town and fort built by Allahood-deen, and laid the foundations of another town (1542-1545); this the author of the *Ayeen Akhberee* tells us, was for the most part in ruins in his time, and will probably turn out to be the town, of which the two extreme gates (N. and S. nearly) are still in existence one (the Kabulee) near the Delhi gate of Shah-jehanabad, and the other a very splendid edifice (the Muthra gate) near the western wall of Deenpunnah. The fact of this town having so soon gone to decay may be easily accounted for by the fact of Akhber having transferred the seat of Government to Agra; while the absence, at Agra and elsewhere, during some twenty years, of Sekunder Lodie, and his short-lived successors, immediately before Baber's arrival in India, may have rendered it imperative on Hoomaiyoon, to provide a suitable place of residence on his coming to the throne.*

Of the two hundred towns built by Feroze Togluck, many of which in all probability still exist in various parts of the country, under the several denominations of Feerozabad, Feerozpoor, Feerozghur (and possibly Feerozshuhur or Feerozshah, the name of which is immortalized by the contest on the memorable 31st of

* The utility of this sketch was suggested by the perusal of an admirable letter from Mr. H. Elliot, Secretary to Government, to the Secretary Archæological Society, in which many of the points are touched upon.

December, 1845), probably the largest, and certainly the one deserving the greatest consideration, from the Archæologist, is the town of Feerozabad, of which some remains are still in existence close outside the Delhi and Toorkman gates of the modern city: and of the reputed twenty Palaces are, first, the celebrated one of which the vast ruins are still visible on the banks of the former stream of the Jumna, immediately south of the extreme point of the present town-wall, and commonly known by the name of Feeroz Shah-ka-Kotla; and secondly, the Palace of Jehannamah, of which there are few remnants, one of them, however, most prominent, in existence on the hill N. W. of the town of Delhi. Towards identifying the first of these two localities, (to the first of which, however, we must confine our present observations, leaving the account of the Jehannamah Palace for a future occasion,) as here laid down,* with the names they bear in contemporary and more recent histories, we have the following evidence.

In the first place it is stated in the Zuffernama of Aleo Yezd, an almost contemporary author, whom we have had the good fortune to consult in the original, that Feerozabad was situate opposite the embouchure of the canal brought by Feroze from the Kalee Nuddee into the Jumna, and that embouchure corresponds exactly with that of the present Doab Canal which is, as near as possible, opposite the present ruins. In the second place it is stated, that Feerozabad was distant three miles from Delhi, and three miles from Jehannamah, which, allowing that the site beyond Gheiaspoor was Old Delhi, and that we have correctly identified the site of Jehannamah, corresponds as near as can be, allowing an oriental latitude for distances, with the present position. In the third place we have it recorded that Feroze Shah brought a branch of his Canal to Feerozabad, and there

* With all due deference the high authority, under which the Revenue map of the district of Delhi made its appearance, that of Mr. H. M. Elliot, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, we think that the position of Jehannamah is erroneously indicated in that map, where it is placed, viz:—half a mile or more to the right of the canal, or nearly on the spot occupied by the new Edgah.—H. C. and H. L.

is at the present day a branch, choked up, leading from the main stream into the centre of the site we have fixed upon ; and lastly, were any further evidence required, and perhaps the most convincing proof of all, is the fact that the name of Feerozabad is still in existence, and applied to the spot on which the Kotla, &c. are situate. There is no actual village, and the zumeendars of the lands that bear that name, live in the town of Delhi, but they pay rent under that name, and this circumstance most satisfactorily completes the chain of local evidence.

It is rather singular that the only mention made of the town in Ferishta's history of the life of Feeroz Togluk, is that it was built in the year of the Hijra 755, corresponding with the year of our Lord 1354, or in the 3rd year of that sovereign's reign, and that it adjoined (comparatively speaking) the city of Delhi, (the old city, the Gheiaspoor above indicated ?) It is probable that up to that time, he occupied one of the Palaces in Delhi proper, or at least during the periods of his residence at the capital, as it is stated that on the 2nd of Rujub, A. H. 752, he entered Delhi, and there ascended the throne, and that his second son Mahomed, who ultimately succeeded him, was born in that town. This solitary allusion to Feerozabad, and the precise date of its foundation therein given are, however, of material consequence. We have in the Kalan Musjid, the date of the completion of which has been accurately verified,* an excellent specimen of the architecture of those days, a fact of great importance, as the style of almost every monarch, who had sufficient time to devote to the building of towns or palaces or tombs, is marked in the most striking

* *Vide Asiatic Journal*, as above quoted. We have, since the publication of that description of the Kalan Musjeed, been favoured with the following memorandum regarding the translation of the inscription from that distinguished Orientalist Mr. H. M. Elliot, in the correctness of which we entirely concur, after a careful examination of the original :—

“ Allow me to point out an error into which, I think, you have fallen in your translation of the inscription on the Kalan Musjeed. If on further consideration you and Lieut. Lewis concur with me, you should keep a record of it, as it will be

manner. The materials, the plaster both within the walls and on the outside, the conformation of the domes, the slope of the entrance in the chief apartment, the battlements around the same, the stair-cases, the brackets, the caves, and above all, the massiveness and general character, correspond so entirely, allowing for the difference of the edifices, one a Palace the other a Mosque, that there can be no mistake in ascribing both edifices to the same era, besides which the several buildings that elsewhere mark the site of Feerozabad, and which will be mentioned hereafter, all bear evident signs of having been erected about the same period as the Kalan Musjid. Although Feerozabad is not again expressly mentioned by the historian we have quoted during the life of its founder, it is reasonable to suppose, it continued a place of importance during his life and perhaps his place of ordinary residence. On the death of Feroze in A. H. 790, (A. D. 1388,) Gheias-ood-deen Togluk, his grandson (by the favorite and eldest, but deceased, son Jutteh Khan) is particularly stated to have ascended the throne in the Palace of Feerozabad, a fact which would go far to establish the correctness of the inference, that his own and of course favorite town was the usual residence of Feeroz. Gheias-ood-deen was succeeded by a cousin named

useful, perhaps, on reading other monuments of that period ; you have translated '*Mugbool ool Mukkateb*,' 'exalted with the title.' Now this conjunction of the two words is not good Arabic, and I look upon it that *Mugbool* is part of Jonah Shah's name :—'Jonah Shah Mugbool, entitled Khan Jehan.' The name was very common at that period, and his father's name also is given by some authors as Mulik Mugbool, and by others as Mulik Kubool. Ferishta, in one part, calls the father Mugbil. At all events there seems enough to show that the son's name was Mukbool, and should be so read in the inscription. Junah Shah was no doubt the name given by the obsequious father, in compliment to Mahomed Togluk, whose name was Jonah Shah, after whom Jonpoor was so named by his nephew Feeroz ? We may add, as a 'contribution' to the biography of Khan Jehan the elder, that he is mentioned in Ferishta as the son of Rookun-ood-deen, of Thanesur ; but whether the word Thanesuree mean, that he and his family were of Thanesur, or that he possessed that place in jagheer only, we cannot say. He is certainly spoken of as one of the most disreputable fellows of the time.—H. C.—H. L.—ED.

DECLINE OF THE CITY.

Aboo Bukr. This Prince was, after a short reign of one year and six months, made prisoner, and superseded by his uncle Nusseer-ood-deen, who first took possession of the Palace of Junannamah. Aboo Bukr being "in the opposite quarter of the city called Feerozabad" (which supposing him to have been in the Palace of that town would be a correct expression with regard to the relative position of the royal residence of Juhannamah and the Kotla, as Feerozabad appears to have stretched in a N. W. direction towards the former. On the 18th of April 1389, (2nd Jumah-ool-awul 789 A. H.) a battle took place in the very streets of Feerozabad, in which 50,000 men were engaged under Nusseer-ood-deen, a fact that speaks convincingly as to the great extent of ground it must have covered. It may also lead to the inference, that the town was very imperfectly protected by outer walls; if they had been of any great strength of size, some trace of them would surely be visible, but there is not one stone upon the other, west of the Palace, that could be pronounced the debris of a wall likely to have been the town-wall of Feerozabad. Nusseer-ood-deen was defeated with the assistance of Bahadur Ka-deer, a Mewatee chief, who seems to have held the scales in which several sovereigns are weighed, and found wanting if he did not side with them. He came to the aid of Aboo Bukr, with a strong reinforcement. On the following day, the King in possession, marched out of Feerozabad, and drove Nusseer-ood-deen with great slaughter, quite out of Delhi. Another engagement soon after took place in Delhi, but which part it is difficult to ascertain from the context. After this engagement, Aboo Bukr, hearing of treason in his household, fled to his Mewatee friend, leaving Nusseer-ood-deen to take quiet possession "of Delhi and its palace." He shortly after pursued the ex-King into Meerut, there took him prisoner, and confined him in Meerut. It is added that he died there some years after, but we may safely infer, that he obtained a conditional degree of liberty, as tradition ascribes to him, the excavation which divides Meerut, at the present day, into the black and white town. That he died a man

of some consideration is evident from his tomb still standing in a state of considerable preservation west of, and close to the Jail at Meerut. Nusseer-ood-deen himself seems, subsequently, to have resided chiefly in the town and fort of Mahomedabad, built by his father's predecessor (his grand uncle) Mahomed Toghluk, and died there.

The next mention we have of Feerozabad, is on the occasion of the invasion of Taimoor, which occurred very shortly after the events detailed above. On the 13th January 1398, (5th of Jummadi-ool-awal A. H. 801,*) this scourge of the human race, after putting to death so large a number of prisoners on the plain beyond (east of) Louse, as must have deluged the land with blood, forced the river without opposition, and encamped "on the plain of Feerozabad." This plain was, in all probability, either the land now occupied by Jaisinghpooora, and further south, towards the tomb of Munsoor Alee Khan (Sufdur Jung) or the spot now occupied by modern Delhi. While Delhi became the prey of the ferocious army which he commanded, Feerozabad seems to have escaped the fury of those mad men, for we learn that on Taimoor finally quitting Delhi after revelling for 15 days in blood and rapine, he marched three miles to Feerozabad (an important fact for hereafter fixing, with tolerable exactitude, the position of "Delhi or Old Delhi," and which supports our previous inference, that the Delhi of those times was just beyond Indraput) and having encamped there, offered up his prayers in the large mosque, which is said by the historian to have been on the banks of the Jumna; but for this assertion, we might suppose, it was the Kalan Musjeed which was alluded to.

Ten years after Taimoor's invasion we find Mahmood Toghluk, still nominal King, defending himself in Feerozabad successfully

* There appears an error of 17 days in the abbreviated translation of the Zuffur-nama by P. de Lacroix, but we cannot speak with certainty without a more close investigation. Should this prove to be the case, as we suspect it will, or the 13th January 1398, as above, we should read 27th December 1397.—H. C.—H. L.

against his ultimate successor Saiud Khizr Khan, in consequence of the enemy suffering from a scarcity of forage and grain.

Three years after Khizr Khan returned to the assault, on which occasion Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Secree, while Yekteear Khan, who commanded in Feerozabad, seeing the desperate condition of the King's affairs, joined Khizr Khan, and admitted him into the fort (Feerozabad), notwithstanding which Mahmood made a successful defence of Secree. He died the following year near Kaithul, (Feb. 1412.) An Afghan chief, of the name of Dowlut Khan Loddee, reigned after him nominally for one year and three months, when Khizr Khan finally succeeded in obtaining possession of the throne,* and in establishing a new dynasty. From this time (1416) or 62 years after it was founded, it is most likely that Feerozabad began to decline. The building of Mobarikabad in 1435, showed that it was no longer thought a suitable residence for kings of another race, and while the construction, in 1533, by Humaioon of a new fort, and the foundation by Shere Shah, almost immediately after, of a new and distinct town, part of which must have been built on a portion of the site of Feerozabad, showed that as a town of any consequence it had almost entirely disappeared, the materials being, as usual, in all probability, carried away to construct more recent edifices. This is the more likely, as Sekunder Loddee had, for some years before his death, made Agra his principal place of residence.

From the foregoing outline of its history, and from the tolerably accurate indications we have of its locality, taking also the style of the remains of the palace, and other buildings into

* Khizr Khan, though sovereign *de facto*, never openly assumed the title of King, but was contented to rule as the representative of Shahrookh, the son and successor of Taimoor, on whose name the Khootha was read.—H. C.—H. L.

consideration, and bearing in mind that we have the date of the Kalan Musjid * to bear out what we have advanced, we consider that there can be no hesitation in laying it down as a fact, that the ruin of the Kotla, as they now stand, are the remains of the palace built by Feeroz Toghluk, and that the city of Feerozabad, also built by him, extended a considerable distance to the south-west, but mostly to the north-west of the palace, where there are still numerous debris of old buildings, besides several tombs and mosques, more or less perfect,* all bearing the most distinct marks of that period; the Kalan Musjid being one of them.

Sakya Muni or Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, died B. C. 545. At his death the influence of his religion was confined to the central provinces of the Ganges, from the neighbourhood of Cawnpore and Agra to the head of the Delta. One hundred years afterwards at the period of the second Synod the Dharma of Buddha had been preached throughout Malwa from Chetiya or Bhilsa to Avanti (or Ujain) and to the undefined Patheya or "western" country. Of the further progress of the Buddhist religion nothing is known until Alexander's invasion, at which time Brahmins and Samanas would appear to have been held in equal honor in the land. Asoka was the son of Bindusara, emperor of India, to whose court a third Greek embassy as mentioned by Pliny had been deputed under Dionysius. About the middle of the Bindusara's reign (B. C. 280) he deputed his son to quell a serious disturbance in the district of Taxila. The people came forth to meet him with offerings, and assure him that they were not displeased with the king but minister who oppressed them, on which Asoka made his entry into the town with great pomp. He then conquered the kingdom of Koasas or Khasas who were most probably the

* It seems likely that this Musjid was erected by Khan Jehan, Wuzeer, with the object of securing the good-will of the people of the capital on his contemplated usurpation of the throne of his master, then verging rapidly to a state of mental imbecility.

people of Kashmir. Shortly after the reduction of Taxila the successful Asoka was appointed to the Government of Ujjain, the capital of Malwa. Asoka set forth to assume charge of his government in about 274 B. C. On his way he tarried some time at Chaitya-a-giri or Bairnagara situated at the junction of the Besali river with the Betna two miles to the northward of Bhilsa. Here he married Din the daughter of the Shresthi or chief man of the place; a year afterwards she bore him a son named Mahendra, and one year later a daughter called Saughamitra, both of whom were celebrated in after times as the introducers of the Buddhist Religion into Ceylon. Of Asoka's administration of Ujjain little is known save the establishment of a celebrated place of punishment which was significantly named Hell; because criminals were therein subjected to the same tortures in this life as have been generally accorded to the wicked in the next. Bindusara died in 263 B. C. (*Vide Asiatic Society's Journal.*)

REIGN OF ASOKA.

EXTRACT FROM CUNNINGHAM'S BHILSA TOPES.

Immediately on his father's death Asoka seized the Government, and gave orders for the slaughter of all his brothers, save Tishya, who was born of the same mother. His eldest brother, Prince Susima, who had marched against him from Taxila, was cut off by an artifice; and the Mauryan dynasty was thus reduced to the single family of Asoka; who finding himself safe from the usual jealousies and intrigues of relatives, gave up his whole energies to the achievement of military glory. In the short space of four years he succeeded in reducing the whole of Northern India, from the mountains of Kashmir to the banks of Nerbudda, and from the mouth of the Indus to the Bay of Bengal; and India perhaps, for the first time, was brought under the control of one vigorous and consolidated government.

During the first years of his reign, the mind of Asoka was fully occupied with views of worldly ambition and personal aggrandizement; but in the fourth year when all India was at peace, his restless activity found a more pleasing occupation, and a more lasting employment, in the acquisition of the Buddhist faith. Like his father Bindusara, he had been brought up as a worshipper of Agni and Surya, of Indra Vayu; and, like him, he showed his respect for the Brahmans by feeding sixty thousand of them daily. But Asoka was of a passionate and impulsive temperament; and when he became a convert to the Buddhist faith, he embraced it with all the fervid zeal of his ardent nature, and though like Alexander, he may once have wept that no more worlds were left for him to conquer, he now found that he had still himself to subdue. The task, though difficult, seemed not impossible, and the royal convert, who had before been called Chand Asoka, or "Asoka the furious," now submitted himself to the outward discipline of the Buddhist faith, and at last became so distinguished a follower of Dharma, that he acquired the more honourable title of Dharm Asoka, or "Asoka the virtuous."

The first proof which Asoka gave of his conversion to Buddhism was the dismissal of the sixty thousand Brahmans, in whose stead an equal number of Sramanus, or Buddhist ascetics, were daily fed. His next act was the distribution of the relics of Sakaya to all the chief cities of India. These relics had been collected by Ajatastra, at the instance of Kasyapa, and were deposited together in one large stupa at Rajagriha. But the King had now determined to manifest his zeal for the faith of Buddha, by the erection of eighty-four thousand Vihars, or monasteries, in honour of the eighty-four thousand discourses of Buddha. As this precise number has always been deemed a fortunate one both by Brahmans and Buddhists, it may be looked upon as the common expression for any very large number. These Vihars are said to have been erected in eighty-four thousand different cities.

I would reject the thousands and simply say eighty-four cities and eighty-four vihars. Building zeal of Asoka is fully confirmed by the Chinese pilgrim Hwan Thsang, who travelled through India in the middle of the 7th century of our era, at different places on his route, from Anderab, beyond the sources of the Kabul river to Conjeveram, in the south of India, and from Pitoshillo, in the delta of the Indus, to Tamluk at the mouth of the Ganges. This pilgrim saw upwards of fifty large Topes, besides numerous Vihars, all of which were attributed to Asoka. This account agrees with the statements of the Mahawanso, which ascribe to Asoka the building of splendid Chaityas on all the spots rendered memorable by the acts of Buddha. All these buildings were completed within three years.

This great King was not, however, content with the erection of stately buildings for the service of his religion ; but, like a true Buddhist, while he sought the achievement of his own salvation, he wished for the eternal happiness of others. With this view he is said to have promulgated eighty-four thousand royal edicts for the extension of Dharma.

Numbers of these edicts engraved on massive rocks and on stone pillars still remain in different parts of India to attest the general accuracy of the Buddhist annal. The oldest edicts are contained in the rock inscriptions, which have been found at Dhauili in Cuttack, at Girnar in Gujrat, and at Kupurdigiri near Peshawur. As these three places were the most distant points in Asoka's dominions, they were no doubt specially selected as the fittest positions for the inscription of these important religious ordinances.

Throughout all these edicts, both on the pillars and on the rocks Priyadarsi announced his own adherence to Dharma (or the law of Buddha,) and his belief that the love of Dharma (Dhammakama) would continue to increase. He inculcates what consists in the strict observance of moral duties, in the per-

formance of pious acts, and in the entire subjection of the passions, and he declares that Dharma will be advanced by the prohibition (ahinsa or avihinsa) against taking life, Dharma is in fact the only key by which the meaning of these inscriptions can be unlocked; and its frequent and emphatic use, throughout these royal edicts, shows that their promulgator was a firm and zealous adherent of Dhamas, or the law of Buddha. Asoka was the same, for which reason the people called him Dhar-masoka.

The ordinances of Asoka Priyadarsi, were issued at different periods of his reign. Those of the 10th and 12th years are found on the rocks of Kapurdigivi, Girnar, and Dhauli; while the pillar edicts are all dated in the 27th year of his reign. Much has been written about the confused dates of the different pillar edicts, in spite of the clear and decisive language of the ordinances themselves; which shows that they were all published in the 27th year. It is true that the Eastern tablet refers to an edict of the 12th year, but this, as Priyadarsi states, had been abrogated, and the Eastern tablet, which mentions the abolished ordinance, is itself dated in the 27th year. The words of the inscription referring to the edict of the 12th year are Dhammalipi, likhapita, "an ordinance on Dharma was published," whereas each of the edicts of the 27th year is described as iyam dhammalipi, "this ordinance on Dharma." The rock inscription at Bhabra, near Jaypur, is of uncertain date; but, as it mentions the third Synod, it must be posterior to 241 B. C.

The pillar inscriptions therefore contain the latest edicts published by Asoka, as they date nine years posterior to the assembly of the third Synod. The precepts inculcated in them are, however, generally the same as those of the 12th year, but a greater tenderness is expressed for animal life, and a more comprehensive view is taken of the moral duties of charity towards all mankind, and of the sacred duty of a king towards his subjects. This difference shows the advance made by Asoka in his

requirement of the Buddhist faith, which is essentially one of good-will and toleration towards all men.

But the sincerity of Asoka's belief is further proved by the zealous earnestness with which he sought to propagate his new faith over all the distant provinces of his own empire, as well as in the neighbouring kingdoms of his allies. His own family had been early converted. His wife Asandhemitra was a zealous Buddhist; his Tishya took the vows of an ascetic; his son Kunala became celebrated for his early misfortunes, and after attachment to the faith; while his children Mahendra and Sanghamitra who were initiated at twenty years of age, immortalized themselves by converting the people of Ceylon. Their mission formed part of the great scheme for the propagation of Buddhism, which was arranged between Asoka and the principal Arhat Mogaliputra at the meeting of the third Synod, in B. C. 241, in the 18th year after Asoka's inauguration.

Major Kittoe thought it probable that these Lāts were cut from the sandstone rocks at or near Rajpur (Badshahmahal) in the Sewalik, a few miles above the sunken city of Behat, and that they were floated down the river Jumna on rafts, to near the places where they were originally set up.

Close to Feroze Shah's Lāt stand the ruins of the Jumma Musjid of Ferozabad, round the roof of which Feroze Shah caused the history of his reign to be written, but of this not a vestige remains, the entire roof having long since fallen in, and the debris removed from the quadrangle, in the centre of which is a treasure well, with chambers and subterranean passages at the bottom. In the southern wall there is also a subterranean passage leading to the vaulted chambers below, and having outlets on the banks of the Jumna. These vaults are the favorite resort of the seekers after hidden treasure. There

are the remains of large buildings around, but none of them will repay the trouble of more than a cursory glance.

THE JUNTER MUNTER OR OBSERVATORY.

The celebrated Observatory called the Junter Munter, stands about a mile and a half from the Ajmere gate of the city, on the road to the Kutub Lât. It was erected during the first years of the reign of Mahomed Shah, about one hundred and thirty years ago, by Rajah Jey Sing, of Ambhere, the founder of the principality of Jeypore. Besides this Observatory he caused four others of a similar description to be erected at Jeypore, Muttra, Benares, and Onjein, thereby evincing his great zeal for the science of astronomy, to which the Hindoos have always paid particular attention. He also had calculated a set of astronomical tables, called in honor of the reigning Emperor, Zeej Mahomed Shassy. The only copy of this curious work is at the Jeypore Court, where it is preserved with great care, in consequence of a superstition, that its loss would be followed by the direst calamities to the reigning family. The preface to the tables contains an account of the instruments built under his directions, and assigns his reasons for building them on so large a scale, and of solid materials, in preference to portable instruments of wood and brass, viz., their greater durability, capability of more exact and permanent adjustment, and there being less chance of injury from accidents.

The largest of the buildings is an immense equatorial Dial, named by the Rajah the Semrat Yunter, or the Prince of Dials, the dimensions of the gnomon being as follows :

Length of hypotenuse,	... ft.	118	5
„ „ base,	104	0
„ „ perpendicular,	56	75

Both the gnomon and the graduated quadrants with the supporting pillars of the latter have been much injured: the edges of the gnomon were formerly of white marble, but not a single slab now remains, and it is only in some parts of the quadrants that the graduation of the hour lines can be distinguished. A flight of stone steps leads to the top of the gnomon, which is also pierced with several arched openings to economize materials and labor. It is built of unhewn stone obtained from the low ridge of hills that lies to the west.

The crown of the arch of the upper opening having fallen in, and the whole of the building being in a ruinous state, the Delhi Archæological Society obtained a grant of Company's Rs. 600 from the Rajah of Jeypore, but that sum merely enabled them to repair the great Dial itself.

At a short distance, nearly in front of the great Dial, is another building in somewhat better preservation: it is also a sun-dial, or rather several dials combined in one building. In the centre is a staircase leading to the top, and its side walls form gnomons to concentric semicircles, having a certain inclination to the horizon, and they represent meridians removed by a certain angle from the meridian of the Observatory. The outer walls form gnomons to graduated quadrants, one to the east and the other to the west. A wall connects the four gnomons, and on its northern face is described a large graduated semicircle for taking the altitudes of the celestial bodies lying east or west.

To the south of the great equatorial Dial stand two circular buildings open at the top, and each having a pillar in the centre; from the bottom of the pillar thirty horizontal radii of stone, gradually increasing in breadth as they recede from it, are built to the circular wall, each of these forms a sector of six degrees, and the corresponding spaces between the radii being of the same dimensions make up the circle of 360°. In the

wall, at the spaces between the radii and recesses, on either side of which are square holes at convenient distances, to enable the observer to climb to such height as was necessary to read off the observation ; each of the recesses had two windows, or rather openings, many of which have been since built up. On the edges of the recesses are marked the tangents of the degrees of the sun's altitude as shown by the shadow of the pillar, and numbered from one to forty-five degrees. When the sun exceeds that height the degrees are marked on the radii numbered from the pillar in such a manner as to shew the complement of its altitude ; these degrees are subdivided into minutes, but the opposite spaces in the wall have no sub-divisions, being merely divided into six parts of one degree each ; the shadow of the sun falling on either of these divisions shews the sun's azimuth, in like manner lunar and stellar altitudes and azimuths may be observed. These two buildings being exactly alike in all respects, were doubtless designed to correct errors by comparing the results of different observations obtained at the same instant of time.

MAUSOLEUM OF SUFDER JUNG.

About five miles from the city, on the road to the Kootub, stands the beautiful tomb erected to the memory of Ubdool Munsoor Khan Bahadoor Sufder Jung, who was Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi about 100 years ago, and was buried here in the year 1756. The Mausoleum is situated in the centre of a garden three hundred and fifty yards square, and is surrounded by a stone wall, at the four corners of which are pavilions of red stone inclosed with elegantly carved screens of open work. On three sides of the garden are spacious apartments for the accommodation of visitors ; those on the south, named Mootee Mahal, are fitted up with the most indispensable articles of European furniture ; the others on the west and north, are seldom occupied except by natives ; on the east is the entrance through a lofty handsome gateway,

above which is the residence of the petty Raja who has charge of the whole. The general design of the Mausoleum is the same as that of the Taj at Agra ; the apartments being the same in number and form, but less in size. It stands on a terrace about twelve feet high, and the materials used in the construction are two kinds of sandstone and marble. Under the terrace is a vault containing a grave of plain earth, covered with a cloth, strewed daily with fresh flowers. In the centre of the first floor is a beautiful marble sarcophagus elegantly carved and highly polished. The building is surmounted by a marble dome, and as a Mausoleum is a remarkable and majestic structure. It was erected by Nawab Shuja-ood-Dowlah, son of Sufder Jung, at an outlay of three lacs of Rupees. The following is a brief outline of the rise of the Lucknow royal family to distinction. The founder of the present dynasty of Oude was Meer Mahomed Ameen, who was born at Nishapore, in the province of Khorassan. He was the lineal descendant of the Imaum Moussa Kasim, who was of the family of Ali, the highest and most noble in the kingdom of Persia. During the troubles which at that time overwhelmed Persia, many families of distinction emigrated to, and found an asylum in Hindostan ; amongst these adventurers was Meer Mahomed Ameen, who, ambitious of distinguishing himself, repaired to Lahore, entered the Imperial service, and shortly after changed his name to Saadut Khan, under which he is better known. Having obtained the friendship of the principal officers at court, he was introduced to the notice of the Emperor Bahadoor Shah, who took him into favor, and, conferred on him offices of emolument and responsibility which he retained until the death of that Emperor. On the accession of Mahomed Shah, Saadut Khan was created a noble of the Empire, and shortly after appointed Governor of Agra. In that important office he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the Emperor, that he was nominated Soubhadar of the province of Oude, and at the same time honored with a new patent of nobility under the titles of Boorhan-al-Moolk, (pillar of the

Empire,) Himad-al-Dowla, (confident support of the state,) Meer Mahomed Ameer Khan Bahadoor Shoukut Jung (the glory of war)—and appointed to the rank of 7,000 horse. Throughout the reign of Mahomed Shah he was employed in the highest offices of state, and is represented as having upheld the tottering fortunes of the falling Empire, but on the other hand, he is charged with having apprised the ferocious Conqueror of Hindostan, Nadir Shah, of the immense riches he might acquire by visiting Delhi, and thereby induced the tyrant to take possession of the Capital, which resulted in the massacre of one hundred thousand of the hapless inhabitants; but he did not reap the fruits of his perfidy, as he died shortly after of a cancer in his back, though other accounts represent him as having committed suicide by poison. When Saadut Khan had established himself at Court, he sent for his family, an only sister and her two sons, Abdul Munsoor Khan (better known as Sufder Jung), and Mirza Mohassan: the former was married to the only daughter of Saadut Khan. On the death of his uncle, Nawab Sufder Jung was confirmed in the Government of Oude, and became a great favourite at the Court of Mahomed Shah, where he rose to the highest honors in the Empire, being appointed Grand Master of the Artillery and ultimately Vizier. After a successful career, he died in the year 1756 A. D., bearing the character of a daring and intrepid soldier, a good man, and an upright magistrate.

THE KUTUB MINAR.

The most remarkable object in the vicinity of Delhi is the Kutub Lât, situated eleven miles from the Cashmere gate, near to the village of Mehrowlee. This extraordinary Pillar is unique of its kind, and stands alone in unrivalled majesty; in height it exceeds the loftiest column in Europe: that of Antoninus at Rome being only one hundred and seventy-two feet and a half, and the Monument of London two hundred and

two feet from the pavement, while this lofty Pillar towers to the great height of two hundred and forty-two feet six inches, and there is every reason to believe it was originally built with seven stories, and that its height was then 300 feet ; the diameter at the base is 49 feet 3 inches, which gradually diminishes in fine proportion to the top, whose diameter is 13 feet.

The Kutub Minar having, by the dilapidations of time, earthquakes and lightning, fallen into a dangerous and ruinous state, the Government of India, in 1826, authorized its being properly repaired, which was effected by Major R. Smith, of the Engineers, at an outlay of £ 2,226.

The following extracts from the Survey Report and the official correspondence on the subject, are interesting as shewing the state of the building before its restoration.

“ The work executed on the Minar is no longer new. The nature of the repairs being intricate and unsafe to attempt much of at once, has occupied a length of time ; and as it was studied from the commencement to assimilate the repairs as much as possible with the old work, it is difficult to verify the repairs to the extent to which they have been executed.

“ The leading features of the repair and new work, are a restoration of all defective parts, with a material corresponding to the original, consisting of the dark-red and light-colored sandstones, the grey quartzstone, and of white marble in their respective places. The great fissures and dangerously dilapidated parts of the lower story have been carefully rebuilt, and all the lost and detective parts of the numerous sculptured inscriptions perfectly restored. The like repair is effected through all the stories and their parts to the top of the old pillar, including in it the almost entire reconstruction of the spiral stair of the upper stories of the column which had fallen in a manner most dangerous to the stability of all the upper part of the building. Entirely new balcony balustrades of redstone have been added

to the four lowest stories of the column, and a light iron and brass open rail added to the fifth story. The pavilion or sixth story newly composed throughout of redstone fluted columns supporting an enriched cornice covered with a dome and turrets of the same material, the whole being surmounted with an upper cupola octagonal top of sissoo wood, supporting a flag-staff. The former rude and fractured entrance door of the base of the column repaired, and improved with new mouldings frieze, and repair of the inscription tablet. The external pavement at the west base of the pillar newly formed into a drain for taking off the water.

“ The eastern angle of the ancient colonnaded enclosure called the Bhoot-khanah, which had fallen down opposite the entrance door of the column, is rebuilt; and the whole area of the Bhoot-khanah and of all the ranges of ancient buildings near the pillar so thoroughly cleared out of the mud buildings rubbish and accumulated encumbrance of ages, as to lay the whole open to a free access; and along with this improvement, the field of ruin and encumbered ground at the foot of the column and all sides has been completely converted into open space, new and good roads of access, and communication with all parts of the neighbourhood are established, and the vast quantity of incumbent rubbish has been collected into ornamental mounds and seats of view in combination with the planting of about two thousand trees and shrubs which are thriving on all the adjoining grounds.

“ The whole of the above clearance and improvements to this public place of resort have, with the exception to the repairs of the column itself, been effected extra to and without any surcharge on the estimated expence for the restoration of the Kootub Minar.

“ The Governor General in Council requests an explanation of the following passage in the Survey Report:—‘ The whole being surmounted with an upper cupola octagonal top of sissoo-

wood supporting a flag-staff.' His Lordship in Council cannot think that such a site has been well chosen for the erection of a flag-staff, and the measure appears altogether to be an innovation, which, whether viewed as a matter of taste or with deference to the feelings of the Mahommedan Court and population of Delhi, has little to recommend it."

Major Smith furnished the following explanation :

"I beg to explain that to surmount one dome with another or upper cupola is a practice quite common in Hindoostanee buildings, an instance of which is exhibited near the Kootub Minar in the Mausoleum of Moonsoor Ali Khan Sufdur Jung, where there are no less than three domes in succession, the uppermost entirely for show ; and in regard to the flag-staff, it is simply a short ornamental pole end to the cupola, not exceeding the length of the ordinary cullice, which is frequently in use as a termination to the Hindoostanee dome. The flag is of the Hindoostanee or triangular form of the King of Delhi's pattern (red with a sun in its centre), and has been used on occasions of the King's visits or of any general assemblage or mela at the Kootub. The King has, after two deliberate visits at the Lāt, conveyed to me through the Commandant of the Palace Guards, his Majesty's satisfaction at the work as it stands completed.

"I beg now to advert to the exceedingly dilapidated and falling state of the building before it was operated on, and with reference to the conflicting and vague records, both in the published Asiatic Researches, and in the equally unprecise oral tradition or other information obtained on the spot, as to the finish which the Lāt of Kootub may have had. I had consequently, in restoring the edifice, one only guide, namely, the eccentric and diffusive character of the column itself as far as it existed, it is therefore possible that innovation (could the point be ascertained) is prevalent through a great portion of the restored pillar.

"Under this latitude of uncertainties I have endeavoured to follow a middle course. I have neither adopted the very extra-

ordinary superstructure in shape of a large stone harp, which in the Asiatic Researches is stated to have crowned the top of the pillar, nor have I followed the plain square top on four stone pillars, which some of the oldest inhabitants about the Kootub state it to have been told them was on it. But more in accordance with the polygonal and circular style of the pillar, I have raised an octagonal stone pavilion over the restored column. To have entered into a highly finished ornament in termination of the cupola was not a part of the original undertaking, the very important object of which was, to secure the structure from falling to the ground, and I have from the first been unwilling to propose expense and splendor of ornament, which was not, I believe, originally contemplated, nor would it accord in my view with the grave character of the surrounding ruins, and a wide field of desolation, to destroy the sombre exterior of the Lât.

“The taste and notions of the Hindoostanees would demand a gilt cupola and cullice over the whitewashed building, and if it be a permitted object to meet such prejudices, I take the liberty to suggest that a copper-gilt cupola be authorized as the least objectionable finish with reference to the surrounding objects, and is an improvement which would doubtless be viewed with delight by the Court and every class of Hindoostan.”

Notwithstanding this explanation, the upper story of wood, with its flag-staff and the stone pavilion, or 6th story, have been taken down, and the latter erected on a mound near the Minar, as shewn in the view of the Kootub from the east.

It has long been a subject of dispute, whether the Kootub was erected by the Hindoos or the Mahomedans, and Colonel Sleeman, in his “Rambles of an Indian Official,” thus endeavours to settle the question: “A foolish notion has prevailed among some people, overfond of paradox, that this tower is in reality a Hindoo building, and not, as commonly supposed, a Mahomedan one. Never was praadox supported upon more frail, I might say, absurd foundations. They are these: 1st, that there is only

one Meenar, whereas there ought to have been two ; had the unfinished one been intended as the second, it would not have been, as it really is, larger than the first. 22nd, That other Meenars seen in the present day either do not slope inward, from the base up, at all, or do not slope so much as this. I tried to trace the origin of this paradox, and I think I found it in a silly old Moonshee in the service of the Emperor. He told me that he believed it was built by a former Hindoo prince for his daughter who wished to worship the rising sun, and view the waters of the Jumna from the top of it every morning.

“ There is no other Hindoo building in India at all like or of the same kind as this : the ribbons or belts of passages from the Koran are all in relief, and had they not been originally inserted as they are, the whole surface of the building must have been cut down to throw them out in bold relief. The slope is the peculiar characteristic of all architecture of the Pythans, by whom the church to which this tower belongs was built. Nearly all the arches of the church are still standing in a more or less perfect state, and all correspond in design, proportion and execution to the tower. The ruins of the old Hindoo temples about the place, and about every other place in India, are totally different in all three ; here they are all exceedingly paltry and insignificant, compared with the church and the tower, and it is evident, that it was the intention of the founder to make them appear so to future generations of the faithful, for he has taken care to make his own great work support rather than destroy them, that they might for ever tend to enhance its grandeur.

“ It is sufficiently clear that the unfinished Meenar was commenced first, upon too large a scale, and with too small a diminution of the circumference from the base upwards. It is two-fifths larger than the finished tower in circumference, and much more perpendicular. Finding these errors when they had got some thirty feet from the foundation, the founder, Shumsoodeen, began the work anew, and had he lived a little longer, there is no doubt that he would have raised the second tower, in

its proper place, upon the same scale as the one completed. His death was followed by several successive revolutions; five sovereigns succeeded each other on the throne of Delhi in ten years. As usual on such occasions, works of peace were suspended, and succeeding sovereigns sought renown in military enterprizes rather than in building churches. This church was entire, with the exception of the second Meenar, when Tamerlane invaded India. He took back a model of it to Samarcund, together with all the masons he could find at Delhi, and is said to have built a church upon the same plan at that place, before he set out for the invasion of Syria."

The following is a translation of a paper in Oordoo read by Nawab Zee-a-ood-deen Khan at a meeting of the Delhi Archæological Society: "Be it known that the Minar of Kutub Sahib, which is now called in Hindee the Lāt of Kutub Sahib, was built by Sultan Shems-ul-deen Altamsh, who after the death of Kutub-ul-deen Eibuk, ascended the throne of Delhi in 607 Hijra, and after a reign of 26 years died in 633. What stronger proof of what I have asserted can there be, than that all the inscriptions written or engraved on the pillar, ascribe the construction to Sultan Shems-ul-deen Altamsh. The Persian inscription on the lowest door, where you enter to ascend the steps, is of the age of Sultan Sekunder, son of Sultan Behlol Lodi, viz. of 907 Hijra. We give the exact inscription, and in it is contained the name of the founder." The Prophet, on whom be God's blessing and peace, says, "He who builds a Mosque for God, God will build a similar house for him in heaven!" The Minar of Husrut the Sultan of Sultans, the Sun of this world and the world to come, (Shems-ul-dune-a-o-ul-deen,) now in bliss, may God make his dust sacred, and heaven his place of repose, was injured. The breaches men repaired in the time of the great Sultan Sekunder Saha: may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and increase his magnificence by his servant Futteh Khan, who was his loyal subject. On the 1st of Rabi-al-Akhir 670*."

* Should be 770.

The second inscription is in Arabic, and over the second door, and in it we also find the founder to have been Shems-ul-deen Altamsh. Moreover the inscription is of the age of that monarch and is here faithfully given :—"The King assisted from on high Shems-ul-huk-o-deen Altamsh, Sultan Nasir and Commander of the Faithful, ordered the completion of the building."

On the third door the name of the architect is written, but this inscription could not be made out on account of the distance and the style of the writing. * * * * *

The Arabic inscription over the fourth door, gives as the name of the founder the same Sultan, and is of that age. The following are the exact contents: "The order for the erection of the building was issued in the time of the Great Sultan, the Great King, the Master of the necks of the people, the Chief of all the Kings of Arabia and Persia, the Sun of this world and the world to come, the Honor of Islam and its professors, causing peace and repose, heir to the kingdom of Solomon, Abdul Mozuffur Altamsh-ul-Sultan Nasir Commander of the Faithful.

On the fifth door, which had been injured by lightning, and was repaired in 770 Hijra, in the reign of Feroze Shah, the following is engraved in the Persian language, and from it every thing will be exactly known: "This Minar was injured by lightning in the year 770. Feiroz Sultan, with the assistance of God, repaired it." All these inscriptions have been written in the book *Asar-ul-Sunadeed*, compiled by Syud Ahmud Khan, Moonsif of Delhi; moreover if it be necessary to have proofs from some trustworthy book, I refer the reader to the history of Feroze Shah, compiled by Shems-seraj Afeef, which is a most accurate work. With great difficulty have I found the place where it is clearly shewn that the Minar was built by Sultan Altamsh. It is this, and will be found in the 4th chapter of the 9th book which treats of the second Minar. "Every celebrated King has of course left behind him some Monument of his reign. For instance, Sultan Shems-ul-deen Altamsh built the magnificent

Minar in the Jumma Musjid of Old Delhi, which is too well known to need description." And this Minar is in fact a Mazinah, a name which the Arabians give to the place whereon the crier to prayer stands, as Abulfeda Ismael Jubea Hamvee, the writer of the Tareekh Makhtisir, in his book of Geography, which goes by the name of Takweem-ul-baldan, and in which he treats of the Hindoo countries, calls this Minar a Mazinah, and mentions its form and the steps which lead to it in the following passage: "There is a Mazinah, in the Jumma of Delhi like which there is no Mazinah in the world. It is made of red stone, and has 360 steps. It is not in the form of a square; it has rather many sides, and is of great altitude. At the bottom the circumference is great, and it is as high as the Minarah of Alexandria." In the countries of Arabia and Persia near the Mosques, Mazinahs are frequently made, from the top of which the criers cry to prayers. In Mekka and Medina there are five or six Mazinahs, and the reasons for constructing them are these: they increase the magnificence of the building, and they enable the voice of the crier to reach the ears of the people. From this latter reason, great height is necessary. This Minarah is then unquestionably the Mazinah of that Mosque, the foundation of which was laid by Kutub-ul-deen Eibuk." The foregoing would appear to be conclusive, that the pillar was founded, if not entirely built, by Sultan Shems-ul-deen Altamsh, though it would have been more satisfactory had some explanation been given why it has been called after Kutub-ul-deen Eibuk. But in addition to the arguments mentioned by Colonel Sleeman, as used by those who support the theory that the Lât owes its origin to the Hindoos, the following are also urged. 1st, That the Sultan-ul-deen Altamsh only ordered the completion of the building. 2nd, That if the Lât were intended as a Mazinah to the great Mosque, it would have been erected close to one end of, instead of being as it is, at some distance from it. 3rd, That the entrance door to the pillar faces the north, as the Hindoos always have it, whereas the Mahomedans invariably place it to the eastward, and an instance may be seen in the second Minar

commenced by Sultan Allah-ood-deen, where the entrance door faces the east. 4th, That it is customary with the Hindoos to commence such buildings without any platform, whereas the Mahomedans always erect their buildings upon a raised terrace or platform, as was the case when Sultan Allah-ood-deen attempted the erection of the second pillar, as may still be clearly seen after the lapse of centuries. 5th, That bells are used in the Hindoo worship, and throughout the adjoining Hindoo temple sculpture of bells hanging by chains form a prominent part of the ornaments of that building, and that on the lower compartment of the Lat the very same ornaments appear more than once in belts or ribbons surrounding the pillar. That if the lower story were built by the Mahomedans, these symbols of the Hindoo religion would never have been introduced; that the compartments above the lower do not contain these sculptures of hanging bells, and that there is no appearance of their having been taken from the Hindoo temple and inserted in their present position, ergo, the lower story at least is of Hindoo and not of Mussulman origin.

A dispassionate consideration of the arguments here put forward, shews that the theory of a Hindoo origin is not such a "foolish paradox" as the gallant Colonel would have us believe, and it therefore remains an open question, whether this magnificent pillar, "so grandly conceived, so beautifully proportioned, so chastely embellished, and exquisitely finished," was commenced by the Hindoos or Mahomedans, though there is little doubt that the latter built the greater portion of it.

The Mosque, of which the Kutub Lāt is said to have been intended as one of the Minarets, was called the Musjid Kutub-ul-Islam. It was built close to, and partly upon the ruins of an ancient Hindoo Temple called the Bhoot-khanah and Pithoras Temple. Kutub-ul-deen Eibuk destroyed the western wall of the Temple, and erected the Mosque Kutub-ul-Islam, to serve as the Jumma Musjid of Old Delhi, in the midst of which it stood. The following is a translation of the inscription on the eastern

gateway: "This Mosque was built by Kutub-ul-deen Eibuk. May God send his blessing on him who prays for a blessing on the head of the founder. In the name of God the merciful to all, the most merciful to the faithful, he who entered it found salvation, and it is the duty of all men to make a pilgrimage. And the infidel * * * * (a portion of the inscription is here defaced.) There is no doubt God doth not stand in need of this world nor the world to come; Kutub-ul-deen conquered the fortress and laid the foundation of the Jumma Musjid in the year 587. The great Ameer, the pole of wealth and religion, the Ameer of Ameers, Eibuk Sultan: may God make known his good deeds; made use of twenty-seven instruments for demolishing the idol temple, and employed twice a thousand times a thousand places whereon stood idols in building the temple. May God send his blessing on the head of him who prays for the welfare of the founder."

The inscription on the arch of the northern gateway has been translated as follows: "The construction of this building was commenced by the Great Sultan Moiz-ul-dunea-o-ul-deen Mahomed, son of Sam Nazir, Commander of the Faithful, in 592 Hijra." To reconcile the apparent discrepancy in the above inscriptions, it must be borne in mind that Moiz-ul-deen was the reigning monarch, and Kutub-ul-deen was only his deputy, therefore the latter may be looked upon as complimentary, for there can be no doubt that Kutub-ul-deen built the Mosque. Shums-ul-deen Altamsh, his son-in-law, when he succeeded Aram Shah, made Delhi his capital, and resided in the fort of Pithora, the ruins of whose walls can still be traced. He enlarged the building and increased its magnificence by the addition of the Kutub Minar. His tomb stands on the north of the Mosque, and is now without a dome, and tradition says that none was ever built over it. The tomb was erected by one of his sons, who succeeded him on the throne. The Sultan Allah-ul-deen also made some important additions, and was ambitious enough to commence a second Minar, which was to have been as high again as the Kootub Lat. The

following account is taken from a native historian : " When by the aid of God the necessary repairs were made to the Musjids, with the view to keep them secure from accidents, like the Kaaba, he had a mind to build a Mazinah twice as large as that which stands unrivalled, and thereby confer honor on the dome of the heavens. He first ordered the Musjid to be enlarged, in order that the Mosleem, who are so numerous that the world can scarce contain them, might have sufficient space for their devotions. And in order to make the Minar so high, that the top of the former Minar might only reach its middle, he ordered that the circumference of the new should be double that of the former." The following amusing extract is by another native writer : " The stone-cutters of Delhi, who in working sungkhwar far exceed Firhad (a sculptor), having taken their instruments, were planing sungkhwar so very smooth and beautiful, that if one were to think of it he would slide. The architects too, who thought Noman Nauzir of no skill in architecture, were placing stone upon stone in a most skilful and excellent way. The joinings of the stones fitted so, that not even a secret could be contained between them. The gates and the walls of the Mosque rose from the dust of cleansing to the clouds of purification. The year in which the building had proceeded as far as above related was Imaret (i. e. 711). The foundation of the life of a king should be more endurable than the foundation of a pillar, so that the pillar of which the foundations have been laid might reach the heavens."

The whole facing of the inner wall of the Mosque is covered with beautiful designs of scroll work, and inscriptions in Arabic carved in the stone. All the archways were in a very ruinous state, but the largest, which is of majestic proportions, has recently been restored by the orders of the Government, and has been well executed. It is to be hoped that the other arches may also be repaired, at any rate, to such extent as may tend to preserve them from further dilapidation, as otherwise, if left in their present state, a few more monsoons ill bring down these interesting monuments of past ages.

Immediately in front of the largest archway is the celebrated Lohar ka Lāt, or iron pillar, which is however a misnomer, for it is of a compound metal resembling bronze, and of exactly the same form as the stone pillar at Erun, in Malwa, only it is not surmounted by the figure of Krishna, which the stone pillar has. The legend connected with it is as follows : The sovereign by whose orders it was cast, caused it to be put down through the earth until it rested upon the head of the snake * which supports the world, and the priest told him that his family should reign as long as the pillar remained in that place. Prithi Raj caused the pillar to be taken up to see if it really did rest upon the snake's head, when it was found that a portion of the blood and flesh of the snake adhered to the bottom of the pillar. The charm was thus broken, and he was told that this want of faith had destroyed the hopes of his house. The Hindoos to this day believe in the legend, and that the pillar cannot be removed, referring to an attempt said to have been made by Nadir Shah to batter it down with cannon, and it certainly bears on the upper part a mark such as would have been caused by the stroke of a cannon ball.

Many tombs of emperors, and others of lesser note, more or less bearing the marks of time and decay, are in the immediate vicinity of the Kootub. That of Shums-ood-deen Altmash has already been noticed. The remains of the unfortunate Shah Aulum, of Bahadoor Shah, son and successor of Aurengzebe, and of many others rest here.

In the village of Mehrowlie, west of the Kootub, is a very deep well of considerable diameter. A certain class of the inhabitants obtain their living by jumping down this well for the amusement of visitors, and are well satisfied if rewarded by a donation of four annas. The leap appears a fearful one, but as the performers are inured to it from almost childhood, they are perfectly unconcerned.

* Lishey, or the King of the snake tribe.—Ed.

NOTE TO THE RUINS OF THE KOOTUB FROM FERCUSSON'S ARCHITECTURE. .

By far the most interesting group of ruins that exist in India, or perhaps in any part of the world, is that which is grouped round the tall column of victory which Kootub erected at Delhi within the precincts of the palace of the unfortunate Pirthay Raja to celebrate his conquest of the Hindus.

Even in situation these ruins are singularly beautiful, for they stand on the gentle slope of a hill overlooking a plain that once had been apparently a lake and afterwards became the site of three successive capitals of the East. In front are the ruins of Tuglukabad, the gigantic fort of an old Pathan chief; and farther north the plain is still covered with ruins of Old Delhi, the capital of the later Pathans and earlier Moguls. Beyond that, at the distance of 9 or 10 miles, are seen the towers of Shahjehanabad, the modern capital, and still the seat of the nominal monarchy of the Great Mogul. Still farther north are situated the civil station and cantonments of the British Rulers of the country. It is a fortunate circumstance that these were not placed here, at Agra, in the midst of the ruins, for it is to this we owe their preservation. But for the distance it is probable that marble columns would have been taken for all purposes for which they might have been available, with a total disregard for the beauty and interest of the remains thereby annihilated. Even as it is the buildings belonging to the celebrated Shahlar Gardens, which were the only buildings of importance in the neighbourhood of the English station have disappeared; but it is of slight importance as compared with the ruins to the south.

All the pillars are the Hindu, and all the walls of Mahometan architecture.

It is by no means easy to determine whether the pillars now stand as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether they have been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors. In this

instance it seems most probable that the former was the case, and that they were open colonades surrounding the palace of Pirthay Raja. But supposing this to be so with regard to the pillars, it is quite evident that all the enclosing walls were erected by the Moslems, all the spring courses being covered with ornaments in their style, and all the openings possessing pointed arches, which the Hindus never used; if this is so, it is the only instance known of Hindu pillars being left undisturbed. The celebrated contemporary Mosque at Canouge is undoubtedly a Jaina temple, re-arranged on a plan precisely similar to that of the mosque of Amrou at old Cairo; but as the roof and domes are all of Jaina architecture, no trace of the Morish style is to be seen internally: the exterior is as purely of Mahometan architecture. There is another mosque at Dhar, near Mandoo, of much more modern date, which is without doubt a Jaina temple re-arranged. Another in the fort at Jaunpore, as well as fragments of other mosques elsewhere, all show the same system of taking down and re-arranging the materials on a different plan. If therefore the pillars at Kootub are in situ, it is the only instance known of such being the case. It may perhaps be necessary to explain that there could be no difficulty in taking down and rebuilding any of these erections for the joints of the pillars are all fitted with the precision that Hindu patience alone could give, and each compartment of the roof is composed of 9 stones 4 architraves, 4 singular, and 1 central slab, and all so exactly fitted, and so little dependent on cement, as easily to be taken down and put up again. The same is true of the domes, all which being honestly and fairly fitted, would suffer no damage from the process of removal.

The section of one-half of the principal collonade (the one facing the great series of arches) will explain its form better than words can do. It is so purely Jaina that it should perhaps have been introduced in speaking of that style; but as making a part of the earliest mosque in India, I preferred introducing it in the place. The pillars used here are of the same

order, and similar to those used on Mount Abu except that those at Old Delhi are much richer and more elaborate. They belong probably to the 9th or 10th century, and are among the few examples to be found in India that seem to be overloaded with ornament, there the ornament is so sharp and so beautifully executed, and the effect, in their present state of decay and ruin, so picturesque, that is very difficult to find fault with what is so beautiful. In some instances the figures that were on the shafts of the pillars have been cut off, as offensive to Mahometan strictness with regard to idolatrous images; but on the roof and less seen parts, the cross-legged figures of the Jaina saints, and other emblems of that religion, may still be detected.

The glory of the mosque, however, is not in these Hindu remains, but in the great range of arches on the eastern side, extending north and south for about 385 ft. and consisting of 3 greater and 8 smaller arches, the central one being 22 ft. wide and 53 high; the larger side arches 24 ft. 4 in. and about the same height as the central arch; the smaller arches are about half these dimensions, and unfortunately are generally very much ruined. Behind this at the distance of 32 ft. are the foundations of another wall; but whether intended to be carried as high as that in front is by no means apparent. It seems probable that the Hindu pillars between the two screens were the only part that was proposed to be covered, some of them being built into the back part of the great arches and all above them is quite plain and smooth, without the least indication of any intention to construct a vault or roof of any sort. Besides this, a roof is by no means an essential part of a mosque; a wall facing Mecca is all that is required, and frequently in India is all that is built, though sometimes an enclosure is added in front of it to protect the worshippers from interruption. Roofed colonades are of course not only convenient but ornamental accompaniments, yet far from being indispensable.

The history of this mosque as told in its construction, is as curious as any thing about it. It seems the Afghan conquerors

had a tolerably distinct idea that pointed arches were the true form of architectural openings ; but being without science sufficient to construct them, they left the Hindu architects and builders whom they employed to follow their own devices as to the mode by which this form was to be attained. The Hindus, however, up to this time had never built arches, nor indeed did they for centuries afterwards. Accordingly they proceeded to make the pointed openings on the same principle upon which they built their domes. They carried them up in horizontal courses as far as they could, and then closed them by long slabs meeting at the top, the construction being in fact that of the arch of aqueduct at Tusculum. The same architects were employed by their masters to ornament the faces of these arches, and did so by copying and repeating the ornaments on the pillars and friezes on the opposite side of the court, covering the whole with a lace-work of intricate and delicate carving such as no mosque ever received before or since ; and though it is perhaps in a great measure thrown away and lost when used on such a scale, it is without a single exception the most exquisite specimen of its class known to exist anywhere. The stone being particularly hard and good, it remains its freshness to the present day, and is only destroyed above the arches where the faulty Hindu construction has superinduced premature decay.

The Minar is 48 feet 4 inches in diameter at the base, and when measured in 1794, was 242 feet in height. Even then however the capital was ruined, so that some 10 or perhaps 20 feet must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly projecting balconies, one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground, between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower story the projecting flutes are alternately angular and circular, in the second circular and in the third angular only ; above this the Minar is plain, but principally of white marble with belts, of which the red sandstone of the three lower stories are composed.

The only buildings known to be taller than this that Mahometans ever erected is the minaret of the mosque of Hussan, at Cairo; but as this pillar at Old Delhi is a wholly independent building, it has a far nobler appearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses its Egyptian rival, as indeed it does any buildings of its class, so far as I know, in the whole world.

At the distance of 470 feet north of this one a second Minar was commenced of twice its dimensions or 297 feet in circumference. It was only carried up to the height of 40 feet, and abandoned probably in consequence of the removal of the seat of Government to Tugluckabad, or elsewhere.

THE "KHAAS KILLA" AT THE KOOTUB.

This Fort was built by Raye Pithoura better known as Pirthee Raj, the last of the Hindoo Kings of these parts. It is the strongest, though the smallest of the three lines of fortifications of the ancient city of Delhi, at present known as the ~~Kootab~~ or rather Mirowlee.* The line of fortifications to the west is in fair preservation, and shews how strong the place must have been in its palmy days. The gate on that side is exceedingly difficult of approach, being defended on all sides with a tortuous approach winding to it both narrow and sharp, twisting past at right angles no less than five successive times ere the gateway is gained. The gateway is a double one built of solid stone slabs, the height now cannot from its ruined state be accurately given, but by report it must have been 20 odd feet in altitude.† Just outside this gate are countless graves, and heaps of stones, shewing how immense the

* This Fort is, strange to say, though built with mud cement, in better order than the others made with lime mortar.

† It is computed by the size of the slab that was taken out of the gate some years back by the D. P. W. for the purpose of being converted into a roller !! The other slab is still standing.

slaughter must have been ere the place was forced. The most celebrated grave is that of Haji Baba Rose Beh's in the ditch a little to the right, who it is said led the way and effected the capture of the place. Tradition relates that Shahb-oo-deen Ghori was defeated six times in his attempt to storm the Fort, and that on his returning to his mountain fortresses disappointed and dejected, he met the "Bāba" who advised him to try once more, to be less hurried, and to be more careful of the interests of the peasantry. The "Bāba's" advice to gradually subdue, and thus gain the country as he passed through, was apparently carried out, and it is said that owing to these arrangements, and the co-operation of the Raja Jai Chund of Kunouj which was again cheerfully given, this strong place fell. The Fort is currently stated to have been built in the year 1200 (Bikramajheet*) and taken in 1232 of the same era.

The Hindoos point with much complacency to the myriads of graves outside this gate when relating the valour of their ancient King, and exhibit the "Kutwaria Serai" or place of massacre, not far from the gate as famous for a most sanguinary and desperate struggle between Pirthee Raj's forces against the combined hordes of the Pathan invader and his ally. Fabulous is the computation of the loss of the enemy on that occasion, but equally incredible is the account of the numbers of the besieged slain in the taking of the Fort itself. The end of Pirthee Raj was a miserable one, for after the death of all his sirdars and his near relation Khandeh Rao,—the commander of the forces—he was taken prisoner, had his eyes maimed or totally put out, and was carried off as, far as it is said, Umballa, by his conqueror, where he was put to death. The story is that Shahb-oo-deen wishing one day to mock his captive, or more probably to test whether his vision was completely gone, asked him if his well known accuracy of aim with the bow was impaired by his eyes

* The Hindoos date their era from this their most famous King in the "Kul Joog" or Black age: the present year is 1919, so that the place is 719 years old.

having been put out. Raja Pirthee Raj said that he could even then hit any leaf on a tree that was marked out to him. A bow and arrow was given him for that purpose, upon which he aimed at the direction from which he heard the King's voice, drew the bow and mortally wounded him in the throat.

Another legend gives the reason of Shahb-oo-deen's invasion as arising from enmity between Jai Chund the Raja of Kunouj, and Pirthee Raj the Raja of Delhi or Indurpoor of those days. It appears Jai Chund once gave a "Jug" or grand feast, and invited thereto all the Rajas of the country amongst whom Pirthee Raj was invited—the Raja's "Bhāt" dissuaded his master from going, saying that as his name signified he was the "King of the Earth," he should not descend to pay court to any other Potentate. Pirthee Raj assented to this advice and refused to go, upon which Jai Chund went so far as to offer him his daughter "Suloochna"—a girl then celebrated for her beauty, and who it appears Pirthee Raj had become enamoured of at some religious bathing-place. Pirthee Raj was offended at the wording of the message, and returned an answer that he could get her without such trouble on the part of her father, and subsequently carried the damsel off by stratagem.

There are two other reasons given for the fall of the empire of Pirthee Raj, one is the Mussulman one, viz., that Kwaja Kootub-oo-deen (a Syud Fakeer, the saint or "peer" of the Kootub, from whom it is called after, and at whose shrine a fair is held every year,—called the "Churree-kee-mela"—) was persecuted to a great extent by Pirthee Raj whom he was driven to curse. The other, by the Hindoos, who say that it was caused by the fulfilment of a prophecy that if the Loha-kee-Lāt (or iron rod near the Minar itself) was ever taken, his reign was over.* The size

* Raja Basic or "Seenag," the King of the snake tribe, was as it is said pierced or otherwise held fast by this iron, pointed rod, and as long as he was so pierced he could not move and overthrow the kingdom he was fastened to.

of the fortifications of ancient Delhi, and that of the Raja's own Fort, the system of fortification then in vogue, approximate width and depth of ditch and height of escarp, are not of much moment, but the measurements could be very easily made and an almost accurate plan could be drawn.

Coins chiefly 5 Rs. gold pieces called "Dhumrees," and copper pieces are frequently found. Maiboob Ally the late ex-King's Wuzeer, made several excavations, but he found nothing in the vaulted chambers searched, save things of little value. There is however a "boorj" pointed out to the explorer, where a shepherd is said to have found heaps of gold, silver, and copper coins, and here a spirit is said to have disturbed his arrangements for carrying off the booty and closed up the subterraneous entrance to the Boorj, blinding the shepherd at the same time. There is also another legend respecting a great find made by a Fakeer, but the wealth was not allowed him for long as he failed to wash the gold in milk according to prescription. A careful search might repay labor, as it is well known the Hindoos always bury their wealth, and the sudden overthrow of Pirthee Raja's Raj, the fearful slaughter, and barbarous massacres, together with the subsequent total expulsion of the Hindoos from the place by their conquerors, must have precipitated the relinquishment of large treasures. Anyhow much of archaeological value by investigation would be brought to light.

The "Jog Maya," still in perfect preservation and now as before the object of Hindoo veneration, is in the 2nd line of fortification, and deserves especial and separate notice.

SOOLTAN GARI.* MAUSOLEUM 4 MILES WEST OF KOOTUB.

This Mausoleum was erected to the memory of Sooltan Gari, son of Sultan Shams-hoo-deen Ultumsh, who reigned from—to— It is a monument of much interest and well worthy of a visit.

The road is via "Mahsoodpoor," and the monument itself in the village of "Mullickpoor Koyee." It is easy of access either on horseback or by carriage. "Mullickpoor Koyee" is now deserted from the almost total want of water, the few wells being very deep. It is said that in days gone by, when the village was in a flourishing condition, the inhabitants failed to pay the proper respect to the "Peer" which they were entitled to. The sanitary arrangements were also not good, hence a curse was pronounced on their manners and thereupon all the wells dried up——The Mausoleum is situated in the midst of ruins which are kept in order by the visitors at the shrine; the annual fair or gathering takes place in the Mahomedan month Rujjub, and is a pretty dense one. Sooltan Gari reigned but some six months in Delhi, and then devoted himself to the life of an ascetic; his wife and another relation were the only members of his family, whom he allowed to accompany him, and their tombstones as well as that of his child, are beside his. The entrance to the building is of solid marble covered over with inscriptions from the Koran; the archway is of solid marble supported on pillars, and also neatly carved; the quadrangle is about 27 yards square with a marble Musjid in front and verandahs on either side with boorjh's at the corners. The flooring of the Musjid, all but some 13 slabs of marble have been torn up, and the hand of the spoiler is also traced by the destruction of some of the devices under the marble carving of "La illa ill, illa Mahomud in russool illa," (there is no

* Sooltan Gari's name was Nasir-ood-deen Mahamood the soubriquet of "Gari" was given him it is said from the fact of his having asked to be buried in a "ghar" with his face blackened, and with no greater ceremony than that usually paid to fakeers.

God but one, and Mahomet is his prophet). The tombstones are in the octagonal "Taikhana" below, the roof to which, (also octagonal and faced with marble) is some 5 feet above the level of the quadrangle, the small marble doorway faces the south-east, and although open I found the interior of the building almost unbearably hot. This unnatural warmth is said to be owing to a hole a little to the left of Sooltan Gari's grave, which emits hot air in the winter and cold in the summer, and which the Mussulmen say comes direct from heaven (B'hest); the architecture of the interior of the building is solely Hindoo, as there being no arches to the roof which is supported on pillars a fac-simile of those seen in Hindoo buildings. The form is octagonal, the material of slabs cemented in mortar.—7 steps alternately of marble and red stone, leads the visitor to the roof of the building.

➤ **"KHIRKEE," A PATHAN BUILDING NEAR KOOTUB.**

Two miles N. E. from the Kootub is the site of the old village of Khirkee—a name that is at present given to the curious old Musjid at that place. It is with respect to its architecture, appearance, and its general strength of build, the most extraordinary specimen of a Musjid extant, indeed it is doubtful whether it was built for a mosque, serai, or cenotaph. The building is a square one with gateways N. S. and E., and with Khirkees or stone lattice-work windows on all four sides. It contains 98 domes and 4 chouks, and it is said to have been built in the year 770 Hegira, or 509 years A. D. by Khan Jehan, Feroze Shah's wuzeer. The entrance to this curious old building is of Hindoo architecture, some ten feet from the block itself. On either side of the entrance there are Khirkees in keeping with the rest of the edifice. Three rows of arched passages each about 11 feet broad cross at right angles in the centre and meet similar arched ways parallel to, and along side of the 4 inner walls. The domes are in groups of 9, the centre one of the middle row being the largest. Each chonk has 2 arches—3

on either side. The whole is very strongly built of kharra stone, and will last for centuries to come. This building and the "Sutpulla" bund close by, are said to have been built at the same time, the former for the purposes of irrigation, and the latter as a mosque. It is uncertain whether it derives its name from the old village of Khirkee on whose site it was built, or from its enclosed state by Khirkees or stone gratings on all four sides. The place is large enough to hold the inhabitants and cattle of a whole village for until lately the present village of Toot Serai resided in it entirely.

TOGLUCKABAD.

Four miles nearly due east of the Kootub, and nearly ten miles south of the present city of Delhi, rises this stupendous fortress built by the Emperor Ghias ood-deen Togluck the First. In circumference it is almost if not quite equal to the size of modern Delhi, and it must once have been the seat of a powerful empire. Nothing but an earthquake, it would seem, could account for so consummate a destruction. Busy crowds once circulated through the easily-traced market-places and streets. All is desolation, a couple of Goojur villages have established themselves within the walls, and the occasional lowing of cattle only serves to mark more solemnly the silent desolation and dreariness around.—Here are to be seen deep Baolis, impenetrable gateways, subterraneous galleries, and towering battlements of ominous inclination. In the language of Volney, "Now a mournful skeleton is all that remains of an opulent city, and nothing remains of its government but a vain and obscure remembrance. To the tumultuous throng which crowded under these porticos, the solitude of death has succeeded. The silence of the tomb is substituted for the hum of public places. The opulence of a commercial city is changed to hideous poverty. The palaces of Kings have become the receptacle of filth, and unclean reptiles inhabit the sanctuary of the Gods—what glory is here eclipsed, and what labors are annihilated!"

In keeping with the austere grandeur of the fort is the tomb built for himself by the stern old warrior in the strongly fortified citadel, in the middle of what was once an artificial lake. "The sloping walls (writes Fergusson) and almost European solidity of this Mausoleum, combined with the bold and massive towers of the fortifications that surround it, form a picture of a warrior's tomb unrivalled anywhere, and a singular contrast with the elegant and luxuriant monuments of the more settled and peaceful dynasties that succeeded."

This grand and solitary tomb is connected by a viaduct of twenty-seven arches spanning what must have once been an immense sheet of water. Many a scene of ancient pageantry and splendour in the field sports so vividly described by Bernier, must have taken place in the valleys now so peaceful and cultivated.

The fortress is built of enormous square blocks of sandstone cut from the range of surrounding hills and those on which it stands. On the brow of the opposite hill overlooking the southern end of the wall frowns another fort, that of Mohumdabad, built by Mohamed the son and successor of Ghias-oo-deen Togluck, resembling in everything the one built by the father. The third fortress upon an isolated hill is said to have been built in honor of the Emperor by his barber.

The end of the first Emperor was, it would appear, compassed by the treachery of his eldest son Jonah. This Prince met his father on his return from Bengal at the head of his army at a place near Togluckabad called Agwanpore, now by them Affghanpore. There in three days he had erected a palace of wood for a grand entertainment to do honor to his father's return, and when the Emperor signified his wish to retire, all the courtiers rushed out before him to be in attendance, and among them Jonah himself. Five attendants only remained when the Emperor rose from his seat, and at that moment the building fell in and crushed them and their master.

Jonah had been sent at the head of an army into the Deccan, where he collected immense wealth from the plunder of the palaces of princes and the temples of their priests, the only places in which much wealth was to be found in those days. This wealth he tried to conceal from his father, whose death he probably thus contrived, that he might the sooner have the free enjoyment of it with unlimited power. Only thirty years before, Alla-ood-deen, returning in the same manner at the head of an army from the Deccan loaded with wealth, murdered the Emperor Feroze the Second, the father of his wife, and ascended the throne. Jonah ascended the throne under the name of Mahomed the Third, and after the remains of his father had been deposited in the tomb I have described, he passed in great pomp and splendour from the fortress of Togluckabad, which his father had just then completed, to the city in which the Meenar stands, with elephants before and behind loaded with gold and silver coins, which were scattered among the crowd, who everywhere hailed him with shouts of joy! The roads were covered with flowers, the houses adorned with the richest stuffs, and the streets resounded with music!

He was a man of great learning and a great patron of learned men; he was a great founder of churches, had prayers read in them all at the prescribed times, and always went to prayers five times a day himself.* He was rigidly temperate himself in his habits, and discouraged all intemperance in others. These things

* A Mahomedan must, if he can, say his prayers with the prescribed forms five times in the twenty-four hours; and on Friday, which is their sabbath, he must, if he can, say these prayers in the church-musjid. On other days he may say them where he pleases. Every prayer must begin with the first chapter of the Koran—this is the grace to every prayer. This said, the person may put in what other prayers of the Koran he pleases, and ask for that which he most wants as long as it does not injure other Mussulmans. This is the first chapter of the Koran: "Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures—the most merciful—the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship; and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way—in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

secured him penegyrists throughout the empire during the twenty-seven years that he reigned over it; though perhaps he was the most detestable tyrant that ever filled a throne. He would take his armies out over the most populous and peaceful districts, and hunt down the innocent and unoffending people like wild beasts, and bring home their heads by thousands to hang them on the city gates for his mere amusement! He twice made the whole people of the city of Delhi emigrate with him to Dowlutabad, in Southern India, which he wished to make the capital, from some foolish fancy; and during the whole of his reign, gave evident signs of being in an unsound state of mind!

There was, at the time of his father's death, a saint at Delhi, named Nizam-oo-deen Ouleea, or the saint, who was supposed by supernatural means to have driven from Delhi, one night in a panic, a large army of Moguls under Turmachurn, who invaded India from Transoxiana, in 1303, and laid close siege to the city of Delhi, in which the Emperor Alla-ood-deen was shut up without troops to defend himself, his armies being engaged in Southern India. It is very likely that he did strike this army with a panic by getting some of their leaders assassinated in one night. He was supposed to have the "*dust ol ghuyb*" or *supernatural purse*, as his private expenditure is said to have been more lavish even than that of the Emperor himself, while he had no ostensible source of income whatever. The Emperor was either jealous of his influence and display, or suspected him of dark crimes, and threatened to humble him when he returned to Delhi. As he approached the city, the friends of the saint, knowing the resolute spirit of the Emperor, urged him to quit the capital, as he had been often heard to say, "Let me but reach Delhi, and this proud priest shall be humbled!" The only reply that the saint would ever deign to give from the time the imperial army left Bengal, till it was within one stage of the capital, was "Delhi door ust." Delhi is still far off! This is now become a proverb over the East, equivalent to our, "there is many a slip between the cup and the

lip." It is probable, that the saint had some understanding with the son in his plans for the murder of his father; it is possible, that his numerous wandering disciples may in reality have been murderers and robbers; and that he could at any time have procured through them the assassination of the Emperor. The Mahomedan Thugs, or assassins of India, certainly looked upon him as one of the great founders of their system; and used to make pilgrimages to his tomb as such; and as he came originally from Persia, and is considered by his greatest admirers to have been in his youth a robber, it is not altogether impossible that he may have been originally one of the assassins or disciples of the "old man of the mountains;" and that he may have set up the system of Thuggee in India, and derived a great portion of his income from it. Emperors now prostrate themselves at his tomb and aspire to have their bones placed near it. While wandering about the ruins, I remarked to one of the learned men of the place who attended us, that it was singular Tughluck's buildings should be so rude compared with those of Yulteemush, who had reigned more than eighty years before him. "Not at all singular," said he; "was he not under the curse of the holy saint Nizam-oo-deen?" "And what had the Emperor done to incur the holy man's curse?" "He had taken by force to employ upon his palaces, several of the masons whom the *holy man* was employing upon a *church*," said he.

SUTH PULLA.

This Bridge consisting of 7 arches is situated to the north east of "Roshun Chirag Delhi:" it was formerly the "Shikargah" or hunting-ground of the Sultan Henz-Shah. It is said that the reason of its being built was owing to the death of the King's favourite son Futteh Khan, whose loss caused so much grief that he found it expedient to relieve his oppressed feelings by moving out into the country and busying himself in laying out pleasure grounds, gardens, &c.

Its age is about 486 years. The use the Suth Pulla is now put to is that of irrigation, and much money has been expended by the British Government in putting the ruins in order.

HUZAR SEITON.

This one thousand pillared building as its name denominates, was built by Mulik Fucqr-ood-deen, son of Sultan Gieas-oo-deen Toghluk Shah. It was three years building and is 534 years old.

It is situated near Toghlukabad itself, and is now completely in ruins. Sooltan Mulik Fucqr-oo-deen's grave and that of his Father are both to be seen in these ruins.

MUNDUR KALKA.

This Hindoo temple of Kalka is situated about 6 miles from Delhi near the village of Bahapoor, and is a celebrated, and very old site indeed. Every six months a great gathering takes place, and religious ceremonies are then performed on a grand scale. It is considered a place of much sanctity, and is kept in order from the proceeds of the contributions at the shrine of Daby-jee by the many Priests and other Bramin employés there and in charge. Eighty-two years ago Doorga Sing, a man of some note greatly improved the place and added thereto marble railing.

The reason of the assigned sanctity to this temple is owing to the religious belief by the Hindoos, that it is sacred to the Goddess Kali (alias Kalka.) According to their religion it would appear that there formerly resided two demons on the line where the temple now stands, and that owing to their depredations a deputation waited on Brim (alias Brahma) and asked his assistance in extirpating them. He referred them to the Goddess Parbutti, the wife of Mahadeo, who immediately at their request brought forward the mighty Goddess Kali, who devoured the two demons Soombl and Assoombl: this miracle is stated to have

occurred in the beginning of the present "Black age" or about 4,900 years ago. Scindia used to allow the Priest in charge of the temple a pension of Rs. 1,200 per annum, and valuable gifts are continually being made to the Poojaries by rich devotees at the shrine.

The superstition of the Hindoos has caused the placing of a silver sofa with pillows, &c. in the temple for the nightly comfort of the Goddess Kali, a mark of respect that it is to be hoped she appreciates.

DURGAH OF SYUD MAHMOOD BEHAR.

This Cenotaph to the memory of Mahmood Behar is situated near the "Barra Poola," in the village of Kalo-kheree.

It is a shrine held in much veneration and esteem by the Mahomedans, who from its easy distance from Delhi, attend in great numbers, the Saint in question died 384 years ago. He was known under the title of "King of good souls," and is said to have performed many wonderful miracles.

BARRA POOLA.

This Bridge of 11 arches, but wrongly known as the bridge of 12 arches, was built by Mehrban Aga, a noted chief in the reign of Nous-ood-deen Jehangeer, and is therefore some 250 years old. It is a fine handsome work of art and an evidence of the care and consideration shown by the builder to the wants of the people at that age.

MUSJID EESA KHAN.

This Mosque was built by Eesa Khan, a noted chief in Sool-tan Sher Shah's Court. The mosque itself is situated near the Arab Serai in Eesa's kotla and is enclosed. It is 308 years old, and was therefore built during the reign of Selim Shah. It is a very handsome building and is of great repute.

The Cenotaph of Eesa Khan is a building outside, and in keeping with the Mosque itself.

ROSHUN CHIRAG DELHI.

This Mahomedan shrine is about 8 miles to the south of Delhi; it is the burial place of Sheikh Nasir-ood-deen Mahmood, and built by Sooltan Feroze Shah in his reign. It has, since its formation, been repaired and Kwaza Mahomed Khan the saint, who is buried therein, is stated to have performed many miracles during his life-time, and to have been held in high veneration. The building itself was a very handsome one in former days, but time and weather has much affected it. The Cenotaph of Sooltan Bellol Sodî is situated behind that of Roshun Chirag the saint.

LEELA BOORGH.

This enamelled dome is situated near Humaioon's tomb, and is a very elegant and curious specimen of art. The upper part of the dome is neatly figured and inlaid. There are no records as to who the late builder of this edifice was, or for what purpose it was built; but in as much as it must have been one of the celebrated monuments of former days, it was doubtless built by one of the Pathan kings of Delhi.

DURGAH YOOSUF KUTTAL.

This building is also an enamelled one, and is a very chaste and elegant edifice; it was built in the reign of Sultan Secundur Lodi by Sheikh Alla-ood-deen. By some it is termed the shrine of Yoosuf Oulea.

The grave of the saint Sheikh Alla-ood-deen is enclosed by stone lattice work, and a covered court yard gives shelter to travellers who come from great distances to pray at this shrine.

MAUSOLEUM OF HUMAIOON.

About three miles from the Delhi gate, on the Agra road, stands the tomb erected to the memory of the Emperor Humai-oon. It is surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a quadrangle

about four hundred yards square, which is entered by a handsome gateway. The Mausoleum is a magnificent lofty building in tolerable preservation, surmounted by a stupendous dome of white marble, from the terrace around which an extensive view may be obtained on all sides. The dome covers a large square apartment, having latticed windows and a marble pavement, the walls are of red stone inlaid with white marble. Here, under a simple unadorned tomb of white marble, repose the ashes of the Emperor Humaion. In a smaller room at a little distance are the tombs of his two wives and infant child. Around and throughout the whole building are other tombs of the members of the house of Timour, amongst others that of the unfortunate Dara Shekoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shah Jehan. His character is thus given in Elphinstone's India: "Dara Shekoh was a frank and high spirited prince, dignified in his manners, generous in his expense, liberal in his opinions, open in his enmities, but impetuous, impatient of opposition and despising the ordinary rules of prudence as signs of weakness and artifice. His overbearing temper made him many enemies, while his habitual indiscretion lessened the number as well as the confidence of his adherents." His father's opinion of him was that he "had talents for command, the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant to all who had any pretensions to eminence, whence he was bad to the good and good to the bad." He wrote a book to reconcile the doctrines of the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions, and was looked upon as an infidel by the latter. After his defeat by Aurungzebe, near Ajmere, he fled first to Guzerat, and afterwards towards Scinde, and placed himself under the protection of the chief of Jùn, who treacherously made him and his son prisoners, and delivered them up to Aurungzebe. They were brought to Delhi, loaded with chains, on a miserable elephant without trappings, and were thus paraded through the principal streets of the city: the sight moved the sympathy of

Humaion's tomb has acquired a stronger title to immortality from its having been the scene of the capture of the Ex-king of Delhi vide extract from Hodson's life, See Appendix.

the inhabitants to tears and groans, and the next day when they recognized the chief of Jùn on his way to Court, they assailed him with reproaches and curses, and threw mud, tiles, and stones at him, and he would have been torn to pieces, had he not been rescued by the police. This popular demonstration in favor of the rightful heir to the throne only accelerated his fate. A few days after a Council was held, and poor Dara was pronounced guilty, and worthy of death, as an apostate from Islamism. Aurungzebe issued orders for the death of his brother, and it was carried into effect, while himself and his son were preparing food with their own hands for fear of poison. He defended himself bravely, though armed only with a small knife he had been using, but at length fell overpowered by numbers. The corpse was exhibited to the inhabitants on an elephant, and the head was cut off and taken to Aurungzebe. That arch hypocrite, when he was satisfied that it was really the head of his elder brother, pretended great sorrow, and ordered the remains to be interred in the tomb of Humaioon. His son Sepehar Shekoh was sent to the imperial prison in Gualior and doubtless died by the usual process of slow poison, for he, his brother Soliman Shekoh, and the younger son of Morad, all died in this prison within a brief space, while Sultan, the Emperor's own son lived several years confined in the same fort. It is useless to speculate as to what might have been the fate of India had Dara succeeded his father, and we therefore turn from his tomb with a sigh at his hapless end, and detestation of the conduct of his younger brother Aurungzebe, whose boundless ambition caused it. We will now give a brief sketch of the history of the remarkable man over whom this magnificent Mausoleum was erected by his son. The Emperor Akhbar Humaioon, was the eldest son of the Emperor Baber, and succeeded him on the throne, shortly after which event he ceded to his younger brother, Kamran, the Punjab and the country on the Indus, in addition to Cabul and Candahar of which Kamran had been Governor during the life of Baber. Early in his reign, Humaioon after quelling the rebellion of

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two Afghan chiefs, and having brought to submission, Shere Khan, his future rival, quarrelled with Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, a monarch of formidable power, who had given offence by harbouring a brother-in-law of Humaioon's who had been engaged in plots against his life and government. Bahadur also gave protection to Alla-ood-deen, uncle of Sultan Ibraheem Lodi, and enabled him to assemble a large army, which was sent against Agra, but was quickly defeated and dispersed by the more disciplined troops of Humaioon. The Emperor determined on taking revenge upon Bahadur for these injuries, and marched from Agra to Mandesur, where the latter had strongly entrenched himself, relying on the superiority of his artillery, which was manned by Portuguese and command by a Turk from Constantinople. Humaioon so closely invested the place, that famine would soon have reduced the garrison to surrender. Bahadur, perceiving this fled to Mandu, leaving his army to its fate. It immediately dispersed. Humaioon went in pursuit of Bahadur, but he managed to effect his escape first to Champaneer, thence to Cambay, and at length found refuge at Diú, in the most remote part of the peninsula of Guzerat. Humaioon then proceeded to take possession of Guzerat, but the strong hill fort of Champaneer was not taken without difficulty and great personal danger to the Emperor, who with three hundred chosen men scaled the almost perpendicular rock by means of steel spikes fixed into it; this feat was performed during the night, while the attention of the besieged was distracted by an attack of the army on one of the gates of the fort. The treasure of Bahadur was concealed in this fortress, and the place known only to one officer, who refusing to disclose the secret, it was proposed to extort it from him by torture, but Humaioon advised them to have recourse to wine, and gave orders that the officer should be well treated and invited to an entertainment given by one of his own chiefs. This had the desired effect, and when his heart was softened by kindness and good cheer, he told his entertainer that if the water were drawn off from a certain reservoir,

the treasure would be found in a vault beneath it. and accordingly a large amount of treasure was found as he had described.

After the taking of Champaneer, Humaioon returned to Agra, having received intelligence of the commencement of those troubles which ended in the successful revolt of Shere Khan, who had risen rapidly to power in the early part of Humaioon's reign, and was now engaged in the conquest of Bengal. Humaioon marched at the head of a powerful army from Agra to the fort of Chunar, which was strongly garrisoned by Shere Khan. After a siege of several months the garrison surrendered, and in order to disable the three hundred gunners who had so ably defended the place, Humaioon ordered their right hands to be cut off. The Emperor then marched towards Bengal, and near Patna was joined by Mahmood the king of that province, who had just been defeated by Shere Khan. The latter not wishing to encounter the superior force of the Emperor, retired to Rohtas, with the treasure and stores obtained by his recent capture of the City of Gour, and the Emperor took possession of that place without further opposition; but the rains had now set in, and it was impossible to carry on military operations in Bengal at that season. The inactivity, and the moist sultry climate, damped the ardour of the soldiers, many of whom died from the sickness that generally follows the heavy rains, and this induced many to desert as soon as the weather admitted of travelling. During this time Shere Khan had been very active in his operations, recovered Chunar and Benares, and posted his forces as far North as Canouj, so that Humaioon was cut off from communication with his Capital, and no other course was left but to endeavour to force his way to Agra. Although from the foregoing causes his army was very much reduced, he was imprudent enough to weaken it still more, by sending on a considerable force under Khan Khanan Lodi, one of Baber's principal generals, but by the time it had reached Monghyr, it was surprized and defeated by the troops of Shere Khan,

who had now grown so confident, that he assumed the title of King, and prepared to intercept the retreat of Humaioon to Agra and succeeded so far, as to oblige him to pursue it along the opposite bank of the Ganges, and after following him about two months, succeeded in making a night attack, and surprized the Emperor's camp. Humaioon leaped on horse-back and would have faced the enemy, but those around him strongly urged him to seek safety by flight; one of his officers seized the reins of his horse and forced him to the river side, and as there was not a moment for deliberation, he plunged into Ganges. His horse before reaching the opposite bank became exhausted, and sunk into the stream, and the Emperor would have shared his fate but for a bheestie who was crossing upon his inflated mushuck, who supported the king to the bank. Humaioon then pursued his flight to Calpee, and from thence to Agra, where his presence was much required, as prince Hindal was in open rebellion, and Kamran was marching from Cabul to profit by any opportunity of advancing his own interests. Prince Hindal being pardoned, the three brothers united in their exertions to arrest the progress of Shere Khan, who, content with retaining what he had acquired in Hindoostan, proceeded to recover possession of Bengal. A few months after Humaioon again took the field and met Shere Khan. A general action ensued in which Humaioon's army was entirely defeated and driven into the Ganges. The Emperor was in great peril: his horse was disabled, and he would have been captured or killed if he had not found an elephant on which he mounted, but the mohout could not be persuaded to attempt to cross the Ganges, the Emperor was therefore obliged to throw him from his seat on the neck of the animal and trust to the guidance of the elephant to an eunuch: they succeeded in reaching the opposite bank, which they found too steep for the elephant to ascend, and there appeared every chance of their still perishing, had not two soldiers tied their turbans together, by which the Emperor was enabled to reach the shore. His brother Hindal and Askeri also escaped with some troops and the whole party fled to Agra and Delhi,

where they hastily collected the more portable part of the treasures, and escaped to Prince Kamran, at Lahore, who gave Humaioon but a cold reception, and not wishing to be involved in his quarrel with Shere Khan, lost no time in making his peace with him, by giving up the Punjab and retiring to Cabul leaving the unfortunate Humaioon to his own resources. His first attempt was to induce the province of Scinde to acknowledge his authority, but this failed ; he then sought refuge at Joudpore but he found the Raja more disposed to deliver him up to his enemies than to afford him assistance, and was again obliged to seek for safety in the sandy deserts, where many of his followers died of thirst and fatigue. After the endurance of many sufferings he reached Amercot, a fort in the desert not far from the Indus, with only seven mounted attendants, and here he found an asylum and was treated with respect and hospitality by the chief Rama Persaud. During this low ebb of the Emperor's fortunes, his wife gave birth to the great Akbar, a Prince who raised the Indian empire to its greatest lustre. Humaioon was too poor to make the customary presents on such an occasion, but he had one pod of musk, which he broke up and distributed among his followers, with a wish that his son's fame might be diffused throughout the world like the odour of that perfume. By the assistance of Rama Persaud and some other Hindoo Princes, a second attempt was made upon Scinde with no better success than the first, for being deserted by his Hindoo friends he was forced to proceed towards Candahar, but before reaching that city he was informed that Mirza Askari was close at hand with the intention of making him a prisoner. He had only time to place the queen on his horse, leaving the infant Akbar to the compassion of his uncle, by whom he was treated with affection. Humaioon escaped to Garmsir, and from thence to Sistan. Here he was received with respect by the Governor, and sent on to Herat, to await the orders of the King of Persia, Shah Tahmasp, who received Humaioon with every outward mark of hospitality and magnificence, but treated him with but little delicacy when he became in

any way obnoxious to his pride or caprice, and forced him to become a Sheea much against his will. Nevertheless he assisted him with an army, with which he obtained many victories, but was at length defeated by his brother Kamran and deserted by his army, after which he suffered many hardships. Fortune favored Humaioon in a subsequent battle, and the city of Cabul was taken and all the open country restored to obedience. Kamran was betrayed by the Sultan of the Gokkars, and Humaioon ordered him to be blinded, which was performed by repeatedly piercing his eyes with a lancet. He bore this torture without a groan, but when lime juice and salt were squeezed into his eyes, he cried out, "O Lord my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this: world have compassion on me in the next." Being now no longer dangerous he was permitted to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca where he shortly after died. The state of affairs in Hindoostan rendering it extremely favorable for an attempt to recover his throne, Humaioon set out from Cabul with fifteen thousand horse, invaded the Punjab, took Lahore, and at Sirhind obtained a complete victory over Secunder Shah, who had advanced to meet him at the head of a large army. Humaioon took possession of Agra, and entered Delhi in triumph, but did not long enjoy his recovered crown, for within six months of his return he met his death by an accident. He had been walking on the roof of his library, and was descending the stairs on the outside of the building, but hearing the call to prayers from the minarets of the mosque, he sat down on the steps till the crier had done. Attempting to rise with the assistance of his staff, it slipped on the polished marble of the steps, and he fell headlong over the low parapet. He was taken up senseless, and was so severely injured, that he expired four days after, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-sixth year of his reign, if we include the sixteen years of his exile. The high courage and virtues of Humaioon increase that interest in his sufferings which royalty in distress seldom fails to awaken in our sympathies. He was not only a patron of literature but a scholar himself. In astrology, a science in great

esteem in his age and country, he was more deeply skilled than any man in his empire.

In the village to the north of Humaioon's Mausoleum is the tomb of the celebrated Mahomedan saint Nizam-ood-deen Oulea, to which pilgrimages are still made from all parts of India. It is a small but extremely beautiful building of marble, surmounted by a graceful dome. It is kept very neat and clean, and a number of people are employed to read the Koran over his grave; they are paid by contributions from the emperor and the royal family. Three times a year a mela or fair is held at this place in honor of the saint. Close by is the tomb of the Prince Mirza Jehangire, who fell a victim to cherry brandy. It is enclosed by a beautiful richly carved marble screen. Here also lie the remains of the Emperor Mahomed Shah, with those of his mother, wife and daughter: it was during his reign that Nadir Shah invaded India, and the dreadful massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi took place. Many other tombs lie around, and we must not omit to notice that of Jehanara Begum, the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan, which is deserving of respect on account of the virtues of her whose ashes it covers. She was celebrated throughout the east for her wit and beauty, and her name will ever adorn the page of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when viewed in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roxanara, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurungzebe, enabled him to dethrone Shah Jehan. The amiable and accomplished Jehanara not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his ten year's imprisonment in the fort of Agra. She did not long survive her father, and there are strong suspicions that she died by poison. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet of the same, with a Persian inscription inlaid in black marble letters, to the following effect: "Let no one scatter over my grave any thing but earth and verdure, for such best becomes the sepulchre of one who had a humble mind." On the margin

OF THE EX-KING IN SEPTEMBER 1857.

is written, "The perishable fakeer Jehanara Begum, daughter of Shah Jehan, and the disciple of the Saints of Chusty, in the year of the Hejira 1094."

Turning from these last receptacles of royalty, the visitor is led to a Tank or Baolee, where divers are ready for a trifling reward to spring from the dome of a mosque which overlooks the water; the leap appears much more perilous than that into the well in Mehrowlie near the Kootub, but the men are well inured to it from childhood, and the writer has never heard of any accident occurring at either place.

On the road back to Delhi is the Pathan Fortress, known as the Purana Killa, or fort of old Delhi. The Royal gardens of Shalimar are situated about five miles west of Delhi. They were laid out by the Emperor Shah Jehan in the fourth year of his reign, and the sum of ten lacs of rupees is said to have been expended upon them. There were magnificent pavilions, pleasure houses, baths, canals of water stocked with gold and silver fish, and fountains with every other luxury to gratify the senses, render seclusion pleasant and beguile the tedium of life.

The true account of the cavalry 'demonstration' is this: on the morning on which the city and palace were finally evacuated (19th), the whole of the available cavalry (not otherwise employed) moved out through the suburbs in the direction of, though not on the road to the Kootub, but with strict orders not to go under fire? Well, we all marched out to the top of the hill on which stands the 'Eedgah,' and thence, from a safe and respectful distance, overlooked the camp of the Bareilly and Nusserabad force, under 'General' Bukt Khan, quondam Subadar of artillery. While minutely examining the camp through my glass (I was with Brigadier Hope Grant, to show the way), I perceived by unmistakeable signs that it was being evacuated. Shortly after a loud explosion showed that they were blowing up their ammu-

dition previous to a flight; these signs were on the moment confirmed by the arrival of my 'Harkaras' (messengers), and I immediately got leave to go and tell the General. I did so, galloping down along the front of the city to see if that was quite clear; then asked leave to go down through the camp, and see what was really the state of the case; and Macdowell and I started with seventy-five men, and rode at a gallop right round the city to the Delhi gate, clearing the roads of plunderers and suspicious-looking objects as we went. We found the camp as I had been told, empty, and the Delhi gate open; we were there at 11 A. M. at latest, and it was not until 2 P. M. that the order was given for the cavalry to move out, and they were so long about it, that when at sunset Macdowell and I were returning (bringing away three guns left by the enemy, and having made arrangements and collected camels for bringing in the empty tents, &c.), we met the advance guard coming slowly forward in grand array! We had been on to the jail and old fort, two or three miles beyond Delhi, and executed many a straggler. I brought in the mess plate of the 60th Native Infantry, their standards, drums, and other things. Macdowell and I had been for five hours inside the Delhi gate hunting about, before a guard was sent to take charge of it.

The next day I got permission, after much argument and entreaty, to go and bring in the king, for which (though negotiations for his life had been entertained) no provision had been made and no steps taken, and his favourite wife also, and the young imp (her son) whom he had destined to succeed him on the throne. This was successfully accomplished, at the expense of vast fatigue and no trifling risk. I then set to work to get hold of the villain princes. It was with the greatest difficulty that the General was persuaded to allow them to be interfered with, till even poor Nicholson roused himself to urge that the pursuit should be attempted. The General at length yielded a reluctant consent, adding 'but don't let me be bothered with them.' I assured him it was nothing but his own order which

'bothered' him with the king, as I would much rather have brought him into Delhi dead than living. Glad to have at length obtained even this consent, I prepared for my dangerous expedition. Macdowell accompanied me, and taking one hundred picked men, I started early for the tomb of the Emperor Humaioon, where the villains had taken sanctuary. I laid my plans so as to cut off access to the tomb or escape from it, and then sent in one of the inferior scions of the royal family (purchased for the purpose by the promise of his life) and my one-eyed Moulvie Rujub Alee, to say that I had come to seize the Shahzadahs for punishment, and intended to do so, dead or alive. After two hours of wordy strife and very anxious suspense, they appeared, and asked if their lives had been promised by the Government, to which I answered, most certainly not, and sent them away from the tomb towards the city, under a guard. I then went with the rest of the Sowars to the tomb, and found it crowded with, I should think, some 6000 or 7000 of the servants, hangers-on, and scum of the palace and city, taking refuge in the cloisters which lined the walls of the tomb. I saw at a glance that there was nothing for it but determination and a bold front, so I demanded in a voice of authority the instant surrender of their arms, &c. They immediately obeyed, with an alacrity I scarcely dared to hope for, and in less than two hours they brought forth from innumerable hiding-places some 500 swords and more than that number of fire-arms, besides horses, bullocks, and covered carts called 'Ruths,' used by the women and eunuchs of the palace. I then arranged the arms and animals in the centre, and left an armed guard with them, while I went to look after my prisoners, who, with their guard, had moved on towards Delhi. I came up just in time, as a large mob had collected and were turning on the guard. I rode in among them at a gallop, and in a few words I appealed to the crowd, saying that these were the butchers who had murdered and brutally used helpless women and children, and that the Government had now sent their punishment, seizing a carbine from one of my men, I deliberately shot them one after

another. I then ordered the bodies to be taken into the city, and thrown out on the 'Chiboutra,' in front of the Kotwalie, * where the blood of their innocent victims still could be distinctly traced. The bodies remained before the Kotwalie until this morning, when, for sanitary reasons, they were removed. In twenty-four hours, therefore, I disposed of the principal members of the house of Timur the Tartar. I am not cruel, but I confess I did rejoice at the opportunity of ridding the earth of these wretches. I intended to have had them hung, but when it came to a question of 'they' or 'us' I had no time for deliberation.

I am allowed to insert here a most graphic letter, written by Lieut. Macdowell, 2nd in command of Hodson's Horse :—

' On the morning of the 19th September 1857, we formed up ' and saw the townspeople coming in thousands out of the Delhi ' gate (still in the enemy's possession), and passing through their ' camp, taking the high road to the Kootub. Too far off to do ' any damage, we waited (the ground a mass of hard rocks, ' impracticable for cavalry) till 9 A. M., and then retired. Hodson, ' my commanding officer, then went to the General, and at ten I ' received a note from him, " Gallop down with fifty men and ' meet me at the Cashmere gate as sharp as possible." Down I ' went, and he told me he had volunteered to ride through the ' enemy's camp and reconnoitre ; that no one knew if they were ' there in force or not, and he asked me if I would accompany ' him. Of course I was only too glad, and off we went. They ' fired at us as we approached, from gardens and places all round, ' but I imagine they thought more men were coming and bolted,

* It was on this spot that the head of Gooroo Teg Bahadoor had been exposed by order of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, nearly 200 years before. The Sikhs considered that in attacking Delhi they were 'paying off an old score.' A prophecy had long been current among them, that by the help of the white man they should reconquer Delhi. After this they looked on Captain Hodson as the 'avenger of their martyred Gooroo, and were even more ready than before to follow him anywhere.'

' we (only fifty of us) cutting up all their stragglers to the tune of
' some fifty or sixty. As we came back we intercepted a whole
' lot of townspeople escaping. Well, I must not linger on this.
' Having done our work (and it wasn't a bad thing to do to gallop
' through their camp with fifty men, not knowing whether they
' were there or not), we cautiously approached the Delhi gate. It
' was open, but all was silent. Our troops had not as yet ven-
' tured so far. Afar off we heard the firing in the city in other
' quarters ; leaving our men outside, with four Sowars behind us
' with cocked carbines, we rode in, holding our revolvers ready
' for a row. Not a soul was there ; all still as death. I looked
' round, and close to where I was sitting were two bottles of
' beer amidst a heap of plate, silver, clothes, &c. Perhaps I didn't
' jump off sharp ! It was all right ; real beer ! madam we
' uncorked, and drank the Queen's health at once. After a little
' time, as the firing approached, and we found all was right, we
' rode away, and reported what we had done. The General was
' very pleased.

' And now for my great adventure. On the 20th the King
' gave himself up, and was lodged securely in Delhi under a
' guard. On this day all had evacuated the place, of which we
' were complete masters. On the 21st a note from Hodson,
' " Come sharp, bring one hundred men." Off I went, time 6
' o'clock A. M. To explain why he wrote to me, I must tell you
' that although commanded the regiment, he was also the head of
' the Intelligence Department, and lived in the General's quarters,
' while I lived with the regiment, commanding it in his absence,
' as being second in command. Well, down I went. He told
' me he had heard that the three Princes.* (the heads of the rebel-
' lion and sons of the King) were in a tomb six miles off, and
' he intended going to bring them, and offered me the chance of
' accompanying him. Wasn't it handsome on his part ! Of
' course I went : we started at about eight o'clock, and proceeded

* Called Shahzadahs.

'slowly towards the tomb. It is called Humaioon's Tomb, and is an immense building. In it were the princes and about 3000 Mussulman followers. In the suburb close by about 3000 more, all armed, so it was rather a ticklish bit of work. We halted half a mile from the place, and sent in to say the princes must give themselves up unconditionally, or take the consequences. A long half hour elapsed, when a messenger came out to say the princes wished to know if their lives would be promised them, if they came out. "Unconditional surrender," was the answer. Again we waited. It was a most anxious time. We dared not take them by force, or all would have been lost, and we doubted their coming. We heard the shouts of the fanatics (as we found out afterwards) begging the princes to lead them on against us. And we had only one hundred men, and were six miles from Delhi. At length, I suppose, imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, they resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying I suppose, as we had spared the King, we would spare them. So the messenger was sent to say they were coming. We sent ten men to meet them, and by Hodson's order I drew the troop up across the road, ready to receive them, and shoot them at once if there was any attempt at a rescue. Soon they appeared in a small "Ruth" or Hindoostanee cart drawn by bullocks, five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about 2000 or 3000 (I am not exaggerating) Mussulmans. We met them, and at once Hodson and I rode up, leaving the men a little in the rear. They bowed as we came up, and Hodson, bowing, ordered the driver to move on. This was the minute. The crowd behind made a movement. Hodson waved them back; I beckoned to the troop, which came up, and in an instant formed them up between the crowd and the cart. By Hodson's order I advanced at a walk on the people, who fell back sullenly and slowly at our approach. It was touch and go. Meanwhile Hodson galloped back, and told the sowars (10) to hurry the princes on along the road, while we showed a front and kept

‘ back the mob. They retired on Humaioon’s Tomb, and step
 ‘ by step we followed them. Inside they went up the steps, and
 ‘ formed up in the immense garden inside. The entrance to this
 ‘ was through an arch, up steps. Leaving the men outside, Hod-
 ‘ son and myself (I stuck to him throughout,) with four men,
 ‘ rode up the steps into the arch, * when he called out to them
 ‘ to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated
 ‘ the command, and (God knows why, I never can understand it)
 ‘ they commenced doing so. Now you see we didn’t want their
 ‘ arms, and under ordinary circumstances would not have risked
 ‘ our lives in so rash a way, but what we wanted was to gain
 ‘ time to get the princes away, for we could have done nothing
 ‘ had they attacked us, but cut our way back, and very little
 ‘ chance of doing even this successfully. Well, there we stayed
 ‘ for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you I thought
 ‘ every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but
 ‘ smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned : but at last
 ‘ when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart,
 ‘ and started, Hodson turned to me and said, “ Well go, now.”
 ‘ Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously
 ‘ departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You
 ‘ will say, why did we not charge them ? I merely say, we were
 ‘ one hundred men, and they were fully 6000. I am not exag-
 ‘ gerating ; the official reports will show you it is all true. As
 ‘ we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, “ Well
 ‘ Mac, we’ve got them at last ;” and we both gave a sigh of re-
 ‘ lief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in
 ‘ such imminent danger. Every body says it is the most dashing
 ‘ and daring thing that has been done for years (not on my part

* ‘ When within the enclosure, Hodson observed the balcony resting on the Arch-
 ‘ way of Ingress filled with the followers of the royal party, many with arms. Fac-
 ‘ ing it, he looked up calmly, pointed his carbine, and said. “ The first man that
 ‘ moves is a dead man.” The effect was instantaneous. Not a hand was raised, and
 ‘ by the glance of that eye, and effect of that voice, every disposition to interfere by
 ‘ word or deed was quelled.’—*Note by a friend, who afterwards visited Humaioon’s
 Tomb in company with Lieut. Macdowell.*

‘ for I merely obeyed orders, but on Hodson’s, who planned and
 ‘ carried it out) Well, I must finish my story. We came up to
 ‘ the princes, now about five miles from where we had taken them
 ‘ and close to Delhi. The increasing crowd pressed close on the
 ‘ horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile
 ‘ appearance. “ What shall we do with them ?” said Hodson
 to me. “ I think we had better shoot them here ; we shall never
 get them in.”

‘ We had identified them by means of a nephew of the king’s
 ‘ whom we had with us, and who turned king’s evidence. Be-
 ‘ sides, they acknowledged themselves to be the men. Their
 ‘ names were Mirza Mogul, the king’s nephew and head of the
 ‘ whole business ; Mirza Kishere Sultamet, who was also one of
 ‘ the principal rebels, and had made himself notorious by mur-
 ‘ dering women and children and Abu Bukht, the commander-in-
 ‘ chief nominally, and heir-apparent to the throne. This was the
 ‘ young fiend who had stripped our women in the open street,
 ‘ and cutting off little children’s arms and legs, poured the blood
 ‘ into their mothers’ mouths : this is literally the case. There
 ‘ was no time to be lost ; we halted the troop, put five troopers
 ‘ across the road behind and in front. Hodson ordered the
 ‘ Princes to strip and get again into the cart ; he then shot them
 ‘ with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the
 ‘ revolt and of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity.
 ‘ Before they were shot, Hodson addressed our men, explaining
 ‘ who they were, and why they were to suffer death : the effect
 ‘ was marvellous ; the Mussulmans seemed struck with a whole-
 ‘ some idea of retribution, and the Sikhs shouted with delight
 ‘ while the mass moved off slowly and silently. One of the so-
 ‘ wars pointed out to me a man running rapidly across a piece of
 ‘ cultivated ground, with arms gleaming in the sunlight. I and
 ‘ the sowar rode after him, when I discovered it was the king’s
 ‘ favourite eunuch, of whose atrocities we had heard so much.
 ‘ The sowar cut him down instantly, and we returned, well satis-
 ‘ fied that we had rid the world of such a monster. It was now

‘ four o’clock : Hodson rode into the city with the cart containing
 ‘ the bodies, and had them placed in the most public street
 ‘ where all might see them. Side by side they lay where four
 ‘ months before, on the same spot, they had outraged and mur-
 ‘ dered our women. I went quietly home with the troop, nearly
 ‘ dead, having had nothing (except water) since six o’clock the
 ‘ previous night. I have not time to write you of my subse-
 ‘ quent adventures, but will next mail. We have gained a great
 ‘ deal of kudos for this business, and I hear are to be rewarded
 ‘ in some way or other.’

NIZAM-OO-DEEN (*from Sleeman’s Rambles &c.*) On my way I turned in to see the tomb of the celebrated saint, Nizam-oo-deen Oulea, the defeater of the Transoxianian army under Turmachurn, in 1303, to which pilgrimages are still made from all parts of India.* It is a small building, surmounted by a white marble dome, and kept very clean and neat. By its side is that of the poet Khusroo, his contemporary and friend, who moved about where he pleased through the palace of the Emperor Tughluck Shah the First, five hundred years ago, and sang, extempore, to his lyre, while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul. His popular songs are still the most popular ; and he is one of the favoured few who live through ages in the everyday thoughts and feelings of many millions, while the crowned heads that patronized them in their brief day of pomp and power are forgotten, or remembered merely as they happened to be connected with them. His tomb has also a dome, and the grave is covered with rich brocade, and attended with as much reverence and devotion as that of the great saint himself, while those of the Emperors, Kings, and Princes, that have been crowded around

* Nizam-oo-deen was the disciple of Furreed-oo-deen Gunj Shukur, so called from his look being sufficient to convert *clouds of earth into lumps of sugar*. Furreed was the disciple of Kootub oo-deen, of old Delhi, who was the disciple of Moen-oo-deen, of Ajmere—the greatest of all their saints.

them, are entirely disregarded. A number of people are employed to read the Koran over the grave of the old saint, who died A. H. 725, and are paid by contributions, from the present Emperor and the members of his family, who occasionally come in their hour of need, to entreat his intercession with the Deity in their favour, and by the humble pilgrims who flock all parts for the same purpose. A great many boys are here educated by these readers of their sacred volume. All my attendants bowed their heads to the dust before the shrine of the saint, but they seemed especially indifferent to those of the royal family, which are all open to the sky. Respect shown or neglected towards them could bring neither good nor evil; while any slight to the tomb of the *crusty old saint* might be of serious consequence! *

In an enclosure formed by marble screens, beautifully carved, is the tomb of the favourite son of the present Emperor, Mirza Juhangeer, whom I knew intimately at Allahabad, in 1816, when he was killing himself as fast as he could with Hoffman's cherry brandy. "This," he would say to me, "is really the only liquor that you Englishmen have worth drinking; and its only fault is that it makes one drunk too soon!" To prolong his pleasure, he used to limit himself to one large glass every hour till he got dead drunk. Two or three sets of dancing women and musicians used to relieve each other in amusing him during this interval. He died of course soon, and the poor old Emperor was persuaded by his mother, the favourite sultana that he had fallen a victim to *sighing* and grief at the treatment of the English, who would not permit him to remain at Delhi, where he was continually employed in attempts to assassinate his eldest brother, the heir ap-

* "It is indeed, says Hume, a mortifying reflection to those who are actuated by the love of fame so justly denominated the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wisest legislator, and most exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of praise as are lavished on the memory of pretended saints whose whole conduct was probably in the last degree odious and contemptible, and whose industry was entirely directed to the pursuit of objects pernicious to mankind. It is only a conqueror, a person no less entitled to our hatred, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory."

parent, and to stir up insurrections among the people. He was not in confinement at Allahabad, but merely prohibited from returning to Delhi. He had a splendid dwelling, a good income, and all the honours due to his rank.

In another enclosure of the same kind, are the Emperor Mahomed Shah—who reigned when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi—his mother, wife, and daughter; and in another, close by, is the tomb which interested me most—that of Jehanara Begum, the favourite sister of poor Dara Shekoh, and daughter of Shah Jehan. It stands in the same enclosure, with the brother of the present Emperor on one side, and his daughter on the other. Her remains are covered with a marble slab hollow at the top and exposed to the sky,—the hollow is filled with earth covered with green grass. Upon her tomb is the following inscription, the three first lines of which are said to have been written by herself:—

“Let no rich canopy cover my grave. This grass is the best covering for the tombs of the poor in spirit. The humble, the transitory Jehanara, the disciple of the holy men of Cheest, the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan.”

POORANA KILLA.

This fine fort occupied the same position to the old and last city of Inderput as does the Lal Killa or palace in the present city; and as did the Ferozshah's Kotela in Ferozabad. The antiquity of Inderput and the fort is much more remote than that of Ferozabad. It was built by Rajah Anundpal (Toor) in the year A. D. 676. The gateways of the fort betoken signs of the extensive repairs effected in the time of Humaioon who endowed the Citadel with the name of Deen Punnah.

The mosque built by Shere Shah, in 1541 A. D., is perhaps the finest specimen of the latter Putthan type. The older buildings scattered round the plains of Delhi, exhibit the same peculiarities of simple uniformity of design with a

number of small domes grouped round larger ones. Before the conquest of the Moguls this style had been superseded by a more artistic and ornamental style of buildings. The body of the Mosque became generally an oblong hall, covered by one central dome flanked by two others of the same horizontal dimensions ; but not so lofty, and separated from the central dome by a broad bold arch whose mouldings and decoration formed one of the principal ornaments of the building. The pendentives are even more remarkable than the arches for elaborateness of detail. The angles are filled up by numbers of small imitations of arches bracketing one beyond the other. The facade of this mosque is elaborately carved and richly inlaid with marble and blue stone. The angles of the building are relieved by little kiosks supported by four richly bracketed pillars but without minarets, these ornaments belonging to the Mogul period.

The polygonal building in the city was used by the Emperor Humaioon as a Library, and one day rising upon the polished floor at the call to prayer, his foot slipped and he fell down sustaining such injuries that he died from the effects.—ED.

DELHI SINCE THE MUTINY.



In conducting the Tourist through the City, let us enter the Cashmere Gate, a spot sacred to the memory of Salkeld, and the gallant band who effected, at the cost of their lives, an entrance for our besieging troops.

Within the gate is an open circular space, formerly known as the Main Guard.

Here many officers fell on the 11th of May 1857. Advancing we come in sight of the English Church coupled with sad but sacred associations. It is gradually filling with monumental tablets.

The ball and cross on the top of the dome for a long time presented the marks of bullets fired through them by the mutinous sepoys.

In front of the Church is a massive marble cross, sacred to the memory of those who were cruelly massacred in May 1857; opposite the Church, but hid from view by a high wall, is a large building known as Skinner's house, now used as the Mess House of the Queen's Regiment quartered here, but formerly the residence of Colonel Skinner, C. B., a distinguished leader of Irregular Cavalry, and the munificent founder of the English Church just described. In rear of the Church is the Kutcherry, or Civil Court, the Magistrate's residence, and a Hotel,* which before the mutiny was the *Delhi Gazette* Press Office.

Advancing along the road, immediately in front of the Church, buildings which are used as temporary barracks are

* Since rented to Officers of the European Regiment.

passed on the right hand side. A little further on and to the left side, on a somewhat lower level than the road, is an open space, beyond which is the Magazine, rendered famous, by the gallant behaviour of its defenders against thousands of mutineers on the 11th of May. Before coming to the Magazine a building is passed on the left hand side, with a high and commanding front. This is now occupied by soldiers, but it was in former days the Delhi College, founded in 1792, and in 1826 endowed with the sum of 1,70,000 rupees by Nawab Itmad-ood-Dowlah, then Minister of Oude. It was once the residence of Ochterlony. This College will be shortly re-established in connection with the Institute already alluded to. The Magazine is the spot rendered memorable by the intrepid Willoughby. On the walls are still visible the marks of heavy grape fire. Beyond the Magazine is the original cemetery of Delhi, the tombs in which have lately been cared for and repaired at public expense. Beyond this is a cleared space which indicates the direction of the future railway. At present, a small Roman Catholic Chapel is on the right hand side of the road. Proceeding onwards, we come to the Western Jumna Canal, from which to the Military Cantonments, for at least a couple of miles, stretches a magnificent road with a raised footpath on either side.

It serves as a grand Boulevard extending between the beautiful palace on the one hand, and on the other lofty minarets and exquisite outlines of the Jumma Musjid.

The palace, as it was once, has been described in a previous chapter. The reader will judge for himself of the aspect of the interior. In the Dewan Khas, a Museum has been organized by the Punjab Government, which will hereafter be removed to the Delhi Institute. Though only a nucleus at present, still there is much to please the spectator; and cabinets and cases, illustrative of Science, Art and Commerce, present objects of interest alike to the Antiquarian, the Archæologist, and the Student of Botany, Geology, and

Natural History. Here specimens and works of labor and art indicate the material, and industrial peculiarities of the different districts of India. There may be seen the Mosaics and soapstone of Agra, the alabaster of Afghanistan, the marbles of Jeypore, coal from the different sources whence it is now available in India, Iron ore from Kumaon, Geological and palaeontological specimens from the Sewaliks, well selected curiosities from China and Japan, works in precious metals, jewellery, arms, accoutrements, machinery, tools, cordage materials, manufactures in cotton, silk, and wool ; specimens of gold and silver embroidery, lacework and shawls, paintings on ivory, bazaar products of all kinds, seeds, dried fruits, condiments, oils, essences, perfumes, dyes and pigments, furniture, toys, hardware, ornaments in clay, and models of various sorts.

There are also collections in Ornithology and Zoology. and Drawings illustrative of comparative Anatomy, and the Natural History of Man.

The most imposing view of the lofty mural battlements and turrets of the Palace are to be seen as the tourist crosses the Jumna from Meerut. On entering the Calcutta gate, to the left, he will find as he advances a bastion bristling with heavy guns which command the famous Chandni Chowk, and a glacis, in course of construction around the Fort, which gradually slopes until it meets the new Cantonment Road. Along the course of the Road on the left hand side is the present Dak Bungalow, formerly the Dispensary built by Dr. Balfour, and close to it was a large Tank erected to the fame of Lord Ellenborough, and which still bears his name. The new Road leads to the part of the Station called Durlaogunge, where the Artillery Division and a Regiment of Native Infantry are quartered and where reside the officers of the Station, Military Staff. Advancing by the new Road, a broad and important street is reached which leads to the Delhi

gate of the city. At several points, views are obtained of old and elegant mosques. From the middle of the new Road a drive extends up to the Jumma Musjid, the eastern side of which is seen to perfection from this point. The first gate to the left in the Chandni Chowk bears the name of the "Khooni Durwaza," or "Gate of blood," from its associations with the massacre enacted by Nadir Shah. Passing through the Khooni Durwaza we enter one of the oldest, most quaint and richest Bazaars of Delhi, called the "*Dureeba*." It presents a very remarkable variety of objects; and in the evening when the little shops are dimly lighted by "chirags" (or oil burners), we have here an admirable specimen of the so-called "dirty picturesque." In the many compartments on either side of the street we see numerous trades carried on: The comb-maker cutting and filing; the vender of ghee smoking and working alternately in his grimy recess; the *punsaree*, or native chemist, surrounded by little cabinets, phials, and herbs, dispensing his medicines and charms to the sick and credulous; his shop a curious tinselled scene. The sellers of fruit and vegetables with eleemosynary establishments on "*terra firma*" the *bunya* surrounded by gram bags; the money changer on his unfurnished stage, with cowries and small coins before him; the lace-maker, the gold-beater, the stooping figure printing calico with the hand; the toymen, the dyer, the retailer of native pamphlets, the artisan constructing weighing scales, the silversmith, the stone-cutter, the maker of looking-glasses; all these are to be seen, busily engaged in their avocations, bargaining with their customers, or resting from their labors to remark the look of curiosity evinced by the traveller to whom the Dureeba is an unfamiliar spectacle. The road is narrow, the houses truly oriental the '*tout ensemble*' not unlike some of the bazaars in Cairo. Here, however, is to be observed much of the stolid impassiveness of the native character, in marked contrast to the rude impetuosity of the Egyptian or the Arab. Having threaded the Dureeba,

we are soon in front of the Jumma Musjid previously described. Passing back again through the Dureeba and along the Chandni Chowk we soon reach the Kotwalee, or Police office on the left; immediately beyond which is the famous Mosque of Roshunood-Dowla.

Shortly after the capture of the city in 1857 all the convicted rebels were executed in front of the too celebrated Kotwalee; amongst others the Rajah of Bullubghur, the Nawab of Jhujjur, and many others of note. Opposite the Kotwalee is the gate of the public gardens, a drive through which will well repay the tourist.

Here will be observed a well-kept cricket ground, topes of Mangoes, Pomegranates and Plantains, Vineries, Strawberry beds, and well-arranged Flower plots. A canal flows through the garden, along the banks of which the foot passenger may enjoy a shady and picturesque promenade. In the centre of the garden is the Band-stand, around which flowers and shrubs display a luxuriance and beauty not often observable in Upper India. Returning to the Chandni Chowk the tourist cannot fail to be gratified by the endless variety of the objects before him. In few streets of the world is there such a strange and busy stream of life. Men of all countries variously, curiously, beautifully and ridiculously apparelled may be seen in continuous flow along the raised "*trottoir*." The shops in the Chandni Chowk are of endless variety. The Lapidary will be seen side by side with the lace-worker the toy-shop, close to the booth of a fruit-seller, the vender of firewood next door to a tobacconist, the tin-smith close by the maker of native slippers. At many of these little marts European soldiers may be observed busying themselves with small purchases.

In the heat of the day the tinkling of the water-carriers will be heard. This is peculiar to Delhi. The manner in which the little bheestee strikes his brass cups together is worthy of

note. He obtains a pittance from every one whose thirst he is invited to allay.

Proceeding along the Chandni Chowk we come to the Delhi Institute, a very large building in process of completion. A drive round this will be opened out so as to communicate with the public garden already described.

The Institute contains a fine Hall of Audience, Museum and College apartments.

At the end of the Chandni Chowk is the old Futtehpoorie Musjid, and to the right of it, extending to the Lahore Gate of the city the Futtehpoorie Bazaar, the grain market of Delhi. Outside the Lahore Gate is the road leading to the new Sudder Bazaar and other large contiguous suburbs. To the right of the gate is the Burn Bastion, not far from which, mortally wounded fell Brigadier General Nicholson.



THE HEIGHTS BEFORE DELHI DURING THE SIEGE.

A description of Delhi would be incomplete to the tourist without a sketch of the objects of imperishable interest connected with the memorable siege.

We will imagine him then to have emerged from the famous Cashmere Gate, and having turned to gaze on those battered portals and crumbling parapets of the walls, he proceeds up the road which leads to the Flag Staff Tower.

On his left and facing the Cashmere Gate is the cemetery in which conspicuous for its massive simplicity, is the grave of the captor of Delhi—John Nicholson.

The lane where he received his mortal wound is that which skirts the inside of the wall leading from the Cashmere to the Lahore Gate down which he was making a desperate attempt to effect a junction with the Lahore Gate Column.

The trees inside the Cashmere Gate spreading their riven branches in the air bear silent testimony to the hail-storm of shot and shell which poured into the city during the breaching operations.

Immediately above the cemetery is Ludlow Castle. In front of it was located No. 2 Battery, composed of seven heavy howitzers and two 18-pounders to the right, and nine 24-pounders to the left. To this battery was committed the task of silencing the fire of the Cashmere Bastion, to knocking away the parapet right and left, which gave cover to the defenders, and to open the main breach by which the town was to be stormed, immediately to the left of the Bastion.

The breach is now filled up with mud work, but distinctly traceable. Of the Custom-house battery on the river's edge—which did such terrible execution on the walls, not a vestige remains; and a neat soldier's garden is trimmed out on the spot once the theatre of such uproar, excitement, and triumph.

Resuming the walk up the road; the scorched and dilapidated walls of Metcalfe's once stately mansion* loom in the distance to the right on the banks of the Jumna in the midst of a once well-wooded and undulating park; then to the left, crowning the hill, is the Flag-staff Tower, first the miserable refuge of the European inhabitants of Dehlie, and afterwards the favorite resort of the officers off duty from the fine view of the position it commanded. This will be a convenient place from which to detail our military position. The city lies on the right bank of the Jumna 120 miles above the other Mogul capital, Agra, which is also on the right bank. The river washes the east face of the

* On the morning of May 11th, the sun rose in all its wonted glare and glitter over the gorgeous domes and minarets of Delhi, to set on a scene worthy to take its place in the annals of a city whose streets had flowed in blood before the invading swords of a Jenghis Khan, a Tamerlane, and a Nadir Shah.

city, forming the chord of an arc of which the rest of the city wall is the perimeter. The length from north to south is about two miles, the extreme breadth from east to west about three miles, the area enclosed within the walls probably four square miles.

The place is entirely surrounded by the walls, which consist of long curtains with bastions at different intervals, the whole defended by a ditch and a good glacis. The walls are built of stone and lime, and had been thoroughly repaired some thirty years ago, as a protection against any possible irruption of the Seikhs.

The bastions are of modern construction and capable of mounting twelve to eighteen guns. There is, however, only a musketry parapet along the connecting walls, there being no terreplein behind the curtains for guns.

High over the river side stands out the noble red mural battlements of the Imperial Palace of Shahjehan flanked by lofty round towers and defended by a ditch.

Close to it and connected with the Palace is the donjon kept of Selimgurh under the fire of the guns, from which stretches the Railway to the Meerut side.

The Jumna is about 1000 yards broad, it is very winding and shallow, with numerous sand banks—the deep channel being very narrow. To the right of the Flag-staff Tower is the mosque picket of the Pathan build; bearing marks of the havoc of past ages and the recent siege. Three hundred yards further on the picturesque winding roads, every yard of gravel of which has had written on it its tale of blood, and we come to the observatory, underneath which the remain of the canvass bags of the heavy gun battery still bear honored traces of its formidable and prominent position.

At the bottom of the craggy slope behind the position lies the deadly Pass called the Valley of Death, well known by the enemy as to lead most directly to the Camp; and hence from the precision of their fire oftener avoided than traversed by our men. Further on

again, high and conspicuous over the varied background of the modern city, the antique ruins, the undulating outline of hills and shady gardens—stands Hindoo Rao's house, the "main picquet," and in front still may be seen the jagged outline of the half-moon battery. Lastly, to the extreme right of the heights before Delhi—1,200 yards from the city wall, answering with unswerving precision all attacks from the well-served Moree Bastion and the harassing enfilading fires from the suburbs of Pahargunj is a circular spot once surmounted by what was well known as the Right (or Fagan's) Battery. The little temple visible beneath, is the Sammy House, our most advanced picquet, and the scene of many stout conflicts. This was connected with the Subzee Mundee by a line of breastworks including that steep craggy height leaning over a shady pool of water called the Crow's Nest—the favorite post of the British riflemen.

The British Camp lay around the old Cantonments on the north side of the ridge which formed the great strength of the position. The Jumna, well protected the left flank, but our right rested only on the dense forest of the Subzee Mundee; this was then the key of the position, as by it alone could the British flank be turned, and the communication with the Punjab held open by the loyal Maharajah of Puttialla be threatened, unless by a wide sweep of many miles. To the rear of the position also there is deep cut of the Jumna Canal not without value as an entrenchment.

On all sides around are traces of minor breastworks and light gun batteries thrown up at different times during the four months' siege bearing evidence that the besiegers were to all intents and purpose the besieged. In these desperate conflicts there were none of the amenities of civilized warfare; no white flags were interchanged to allow the burial of the dead.

Swarms of flies and mosquitoes, and the horrible stench of dead animals and dead men, reeked through the hot heavy air and

rendered every post and piquet well nigh insufferable. Let us picture to ourselves the motley group in every imaginable costume ; pale thin sun-burnt Europeans ; tall, bearded, genial-looking Sikhs ; stout, ready, active little Goorkhas ; the flowing-robed easy-gestured Pathans ; wild-looking Cabulees and Affghans ; clean-made and smooth-shaven Poorbeahs—with every variety of tribe and caste of faithful servants indomitably active night and day, incessantly traversing the now serene-looking historic heights ; and the contrast between the present and the past is as signal as that awakened by a contemplation of the present gloomy desolation of that fair palace which seems to rest so proudly on the Jumna—and then reflecting on the by-gone times of splendour when half the civilized world of Asia crouched before the monarchs of vast realms the ancestors of the Ex-king whose bones are buried in an obscure spot in the Burman empire.

Such was the position of the camp with a force of all arms, Native and European, under 5,800 effective men to hold it. This force distributed to the best advantage could scarcely cover one-sixth of the city walls. Our guns could only command two of the seven gates on the land side—the Cashmere and Cabul gates ; leaving the other five (among them the Lahore Durwaza, or Grand Trunk Road entrance to the city) wholly undisputed : while on the river side all was their own, the Jumna flowing up to the walls, and the bridge of boats about 2,500 yards from our nearest guns, giving undisturbed command of the whole Doab in supplies and reinforcements. The ammunition, the magazine, was in their hands and constant accessions of rebels arrived.

But the British Army once planted on the ridge by Sir H. Barnard, never lost one inch of ground : not a single position had been abandoned—not a single attack was made but was repulsed, however formidable.

END OF DESCRIPTION OF DELHI.

PART II.

PLAN TO ILLUSTRATE THE OPERATIONS BRITISH ARMY DELHI

IN THE YEAR 1857

Drawn by Captain J. G. Medley, Bengal Engineer

Scale 4 inches to a Mile



T. BLACK & CO. LITHO. GAL.

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N. I., under Major Abbott—with a native
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men to indicate a consciousness of the coming struggle.
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ne city, the Brigadier's first thought was to telegraph to Meerut,
now what it meant. But when he was told that "the wire was
oken," he at once augured that there was something far more serious
at hand than a mere city row, and ordered off the 54th N. I., being
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BRIEF NARRATIVE

OF THE

Outbreak of May 1857—The loss of Delhi—The re-capture of the heights. In three chapters.

Chapter 1st.

OUTBREAK IN DELHI. MAY 11TH, 1857.

About nine o'clock in the day there were observed from the river-wall of the magazine some horsemen, apparently cavalry troopers, galloping along the "trunk road" from Meerut towards the bridge of boats which crosses the Jumna; while in their rear were clouds of dust along the road, showing that these were only the forerunners of a larger force.

So unusual a sight was at once noticed, and reported to the authorities in their several courts. Mr. Hutchinson, the magistrate, in the *kutcheries* inside the Water Bastion, was the first to receive it; then Mr. Le Bas, the Judge, at the old Custom-house, close to the city walls; Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, at "Ludlow Castle;" and lastly, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, at his own house.

Mr. Hutchinson galloped out to the cantonments, three miles off, to apprise Brigadier Graves, and to ask for a small detachment of troops to prevent the possibility of these strange visitors creating a disturbance in the city. The force at that time cantoned there were three regiments—the 38th N. I., under Colonel Knyvett; the 54th N. I., under Colonel Ripley; and the 74th N. I., under Major Abbott—with a native battery under Captain H. P. De Teissier. That morning there had been a brigade parade, but nothing unusual had been observed in the bearing of the men to indicate a consciousness of the coming struggle. On hearing Mr. Hutchinson's account of cavalry troopers having ridden into the city, the Brigadier's first thought was to telegraph to Meerut, to know what it meant. But when he was told that "the wire was broken," he at once augured that there was something far more serious at hand than a mere city row, and ordered off the 54th N. I., being the nearest at hand, and two guns from De Teissier's battery, under

Lieutenant Wilson. The regiment marched off in seeming glee, leaving two companies to bring up the guns.

Mr. Hutchinson now returned to the city : at the Cashmere Gate he found Mr. Le Bas, from whom he learned that Mr. Fraser and Sir T. Metcalfe had both passed in ; and disregarding the entreaties of Mr. Le Bas and Lieutenant Proctor of the 38th N. I. the officer on duty at the main guard, he resolved to follow them. " I am the Magistrate," he said, " and I must go."

Mr. Fraser, on receiving the tidings, had hastened down in his buggy, with an escort of sowars, through the Cashmere Gate to the palace, to consult with Captain Douglas, the commandant of the palace guard : but finding that officer had already been apprised of the arrival of the troopers, and had gone into the palace to seek an interview with the King, he at once proceeded to the Calcutta Gate, leaving a request that Captain Douglas would follow him there.

Here Sir Theophilus Metcalfe soon arrived, having on his way gone in to the magazine to put Lieutenant G. Willoughby, the officer in charge, on his guard, and to beg that a couple of guns might be moved out and planted on the causeway which connects the Calcutta Gate with the bridge of boats, so as to sweep the bridge, and prevent the mutineers from crossing.

Captain Douglas, after a fruitless effort to move the King, and to reason with some troopers who had, by a private entrance, gained access to the King's private gardens, now joined them ; as also did Mr. Hutchinson, who had made his way through the gathering crowds in the streets.

The value of the Calcutta Gate was evident ; it was the only gate of any importance on the river side of the city, the point for which the mutineers would naturally make to gain an entrance to the city, and the only one at which anything like effective resistance could be offered ; hence it was the rallying point of the authorities. But it was soon found that they had arrived too late ; the bridge was crossed, and the gate already in the hands of the troopers ; the sergeant in charge of the bridge of boats on the opposite bank had been overpowered and cut down, and the police guard at the gate had offered no resistance. Fraser and Metcalfe at first attempted to reason with the troopers ; but in vain. One of them fired his pistol at Mr.

Fraser, but missed him, another wounded Mr. Hutchinson in the arm. Mr. Nixon, the Commissioner's confidential clerk, who had also arrived here, was killed, and the struggle had begun in earnest. Mr. Fraser called on his sowars to attack the troopers, but not a man moved. He then seized a gun from the hand of one of the police standing by, and shot down the foremost trooper. But finding how hopeless it was to hold his ground with mutiny in front and treachery on his side, he sprang into his buggy and drove off towards the palace gate. Captain Douglas and Mr. Hutchinson, finding the crowd closing in upon them and increasing in insolence, jumped down into the dry ditch which surrounds the palace, and walked along in the same direction. Sir T. Metcalfe had also retired from the Calcutta Gate when he saw the serious turn that matters had taken, and rode off to the *kotwalee* (the native police court) in the Chandnee Chouk, and ordered out the police to guard the other gates of the city. But treason had been busy here too. That name which had, with little intermission, been associated with the city for above fifty years, had now lost its power; the nephew of Sir Charles Metcalfe was no longer recognised in Delhi. The *kotwal* received the order, and "spat upon the ground?" the police heard it and smiled.

We must now trace the progress of the mutineers. The advanced body had carried their point—they had seized the Calcutta Gate, and the city was at their mercy. The main body soon arrived. Of these a small party forded the river a little below the city, the water being low at that season, and made for the jail, where, without any show of resistance from the guards, they forced the gates, and let loose the whole body of convicts. The rest crossed the bridge of boats, and joined their comrades at the Calcutta Gate, and these broke up into small bodies and distributed themselves over the city, dealing death wherever they went.

One party of troopers, who have already been alluded to as having obtained entrance to the King's private gardens, must be specially noticed.

Outside the palace, on the river-side, stands *Selimgurh*. The main entrance to this fort is a gateway of some pretensions, close to the bridge of boats. Until a few years ago, this was a closed gate; the successive Kings of Delhi had frequently solicited from the English

Government that ingress and egress through Selimgurh might be granted to them, as saving them the inconvenience of passing through the crowded streets of the city, whenever they wished to enjoy a little country air. The request had long been steadily refused ; but a few years ago, it was conceded, it being thought that no possible evil could result from so trifling a privilege. However, it proved otherwise. It was by the means of this very gate through Selimgurh that a few of the foremost troopers obtained an entrance into the palace, and, to the old King's surprise and indignation, presented themselves under windows of the private female apartments, vociferously demanding of him to take his place at their head. Here it was that Captain Douglas had found them on his visit to the King, and had vainly endeavoured to pacify them.

Now, while the events we have described were passing at the Calcutta Gate, these troopers had been at work in the palace rallying with their war-cry, " Deen ! Deen !" the fanatics with which it swarmed, and who were evidently expecting them ; * so that by the time Mr. Fraser and Mr. Hutchinson, with Captain Douglas (who had been severely injured in leaping down into the ditch, had reached the main gate-way, they found the whole palace in commotion—the sepoy sentries and the King's own guard were in open mutiny.

Captain Douglas, having been lifted out of the fort ditch was carried up to his own apartments over the gateway, accompanied by Mr. Hutchinson, and was there tended by his friend the Revd. M. J. Jennings the chaplain of Delhi, who with his daughter and a friend (Miss

* " The arrival of the soldiery from Meerut was expected in the palace. Letters came in from Meerut on Sunday bringing intelligence that eighty-two soldiers had been imprisoned, and that a serious disturbance was to take place in consequence. Owing to this the guards at the gate of the palace made no secret of their intentions, but spoke openly of what they expected to occur, which was that some of the troops after mutinying at Meerut, would come over to Delhi."—*Evidence of Jut Mull, News-writer, given at the Trial of the King of Delhi.*

" A trooper rode up and called to the subahdar to open the gate. He asked, ' Who are you ? ' and on his replying, ' We are troopers from Meerut,' the subahdar observed, ' Where are the other troopers ? ' The man replied, ' In the Ungoorie Bagh,' when the subahdar desired him to bring them all, and that he would open the gate ; and on their arrival he did so."—*Statement made by a servant of Major J. Skinner, published in the Lahore Chronicle.*

Clifford), occupied adjoining apartments. Mr. Simon Fraser remained below, still endeavouring to bring back the troops to order. But the tide of rebellion had set in. One of the menials of the palace rushed at him, tulwar in hand, as he stood at the foot of the stairs, and cut him down. The Rubicon was now crossed ; three Mohammedan retainers in the palace sprang forward and wreaked their frenzy in gashes on his fallen body, then rushed up the stairs to seek the other objects of their hate. They found Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings and the two ladies, in one room, and Mr. Hutchinson in an adjoining one, and murdered them all.

Four months after, when the blood-stained city was once more in our hands, were still to be traced the stains of blood, which told their tale of horror.

More troopers had by this time reached the palace gate, and, finding how matters had progressed here, rode on to that part of the city called *Dariao Gunge*. This had originally formed the artillery lines, but was at this time occupied by conductors and others attached to the magazine, clerks in Government offices and pensioners, with their families, forming in all a considerable Christian community. This most quiet part of the city was soon to become a *charnel-house*. In rode the troopers, and soon were their sabres running red with the blood of old men, women, and children. The budmashes of the city, the scum of the bazar, followed on their heels ; an indiscriminate and cold-blooded slaughter ensued ; the few who for a time were able to escape, rushed down to the sands on the river-side, others concealed themselves in the larger houses, but were eventually mastered or betrayed to swell the list of victims.

Another party of troopers appear to have turned off to right making for the portion of the city between the magazine and the Cashmere Gate, where lay the chief public buildings and private houses. Here was the Government College ; Mr. Roberts and Mr. Stewart the assistant-teachers were cut down in the midst of their work, and Mr. Heatley, Editor of the *Delhi Gazette*, his mother, wife and family all murdered here. At the Delhi Bank fell Mr. Beresford, the manager, with all his family, after a gallant and desperate resistance. The young assistant at the telegraph office who had taken Mr. Todd's place and whose last message electrified and warned the Punjab, was cut down with his hand on the signalling apparatus.

Succours were in the meantime hastening in from cantonments destined, however, as it proved, to increase rather than suppress the tumult already raised in the city. As the 54th N. I., sent off at once by Brigadier Graves, reached the Cashmere Gate, they were met by a message sent by Lieutenant Willoughby to report that the mob was beginning to get restless and turbulent, and that the magazine* was threatened. Colonel Ripley gave the order to push on to the rescue. He had scarcely passed through the inner wooden gate of the main guard, and entered the open square beyond, when he was met by a party of the troopers who dashed down at once upon him. So little prepared for such an emergency were the colonel and the other officers, that they appear to have been marching together at the head of the regiment. The Colonel ordered his men to load, but they paid no heed. They at once joined and fraternised with the mutineers who fired off their pistols with fatal effect on the officers of the 54th N. I. Colonel Ripley was left for dead : but though wounded in seventeen places (some from the bayonets of his own men), he contrived, as the troops now in open mutiny dispersed for promiscuous carnage and plunder, to drag himself to the wooden gate inside the main guard : here he was found by Dr. Stewart, the garrison surgeon, who had him carried outside the Cashmere Gate, placed in Mr. Le Bas's carriage, which was standing there, and took him at once up to cantonments.

We now turn to cantonments. The Brigadier, on despatching the 54th N. I. to the city, made such arrangements as were possible for

* This, the main powder magazine, must not be confounded with the *Expense Magazine* inside the city walls, which was subsequently blown up. This magazine was above two miles outside the city walls, on the river bank to the rear of cantonments, and contained at that time considerably more than 1,000 barrels of powder ; whereas in the Expense Magazine there were not above fifty barrels—just enough for current use in making up ammunition.

It is interesting to notice the almost prophetic warning of that great Indian General, Sir Charles Napier, regarding the city magazine, which, at the time he visited Delhi, in 1849, was the only one. Among other objections to such an arrangement he urged—"It is without defence, beyond what a guard of fifty men offers : and its gates are so weak that a mob could push them in. I therefore think a powder magazine should be built in a safe place,—in a suitable position near the city."—*Indian Misgovernment*, p. 40. to that suggestion the main magazine on the river bank owed its existence.

the safety of the station. Picquets were thrown out to guard against surprise, the ammunition of the remaining guns were packed up ready for use, and the horses ordered to be kept harnessed. The guard of the magazine was strengthened from its usual complement of twenty men under a native officer, to a subaltern's guard of a hundred men.

Firing was soon heard in the city; then came rolling up that humming sound, like distant thunder, which told of a multitude in commotion; and flames were soon seen rising up from different parts of the city, especially in the quarter where Government offices and private houses stood.

It now became evident that a great crisis was at hand. While throwing what troops he could spare into the city, it became necessary for the Brigadier to provide still further against the possibility of an attack on cantonments. Every one at all acquainted with Delhi knows well the round castellated building crowning the ridge that separates the cantonments from the city: this FLAG-STAFF TOWER, as it was called, was fixed on as the only post at all capable of defence. Here it might be possible to hold out for a few hours at least, provided no guns were brought against them; still, with no supply of water, no provisions at hand nor any means of cooking, it would be a *forlorn* hope. Here, however, it was decided that all the ladies and families of the station, with the many fugitives who were already flocking in from the civil lines and the city, should collect together, for weak and exposed as the position was, there was every reason to hope that, with so strong a European force near at hand at Meerut, only a few hours could elapse before they would be extricated. Here, therefore, they took up their position, a black hole in miniature without the final catastrophe. "I shall never forget that scene," says an eye-witness, "officers, ladies, children, ayahs, and other servants, were crowded in and about the tower. Carriages and horses were standing close by; the heat was very great. Most of the children were crying; and no wonder, for they were hungry, thirsty, and frightened. Some of the ladies were in a state of great despondency; many, however, were as cool and collected as possible, never shedding a tear or uttering a complaint. Here an officer was haranging the sepoy and endeavouring to persuade them to do their duty; there, an anxious group was gathering round the Brigadier, consulting and discussing."

There now only remained two guns of De Teissier's Battery, and the 38th N. I., with a few of the 74th N. I. The two guns had been placed in front of the Flag-staff Tower so as to sweep the road, which, branching off the main road, comes straight up the ascent, and also taking in flank the main road itself into cantonments. On the ridge along the right flank, about a couple of hundred of the 38th N. I., and some of the 74th N. I., were placed, and the Christian band-boys of the native corps were collected together close around the tower, with spare arms and ammunition brought from the regimental magazine placed in their hands ; while a further supply was stored inside the building ready for use. It was noticed that about thirty or forty of the rifle company of the 38th were constantly mixing themselves up among the gunners to prevent the guns being worked. As a watch upon them, two or three of the gentlemen inside placed themselves on the top of the tower, and stood, musket in hand, ready to shoot down the first man who interfered with the gunners, or made any attack upon the officers. Inside the tower might be seen ladies, busy unfastening cartridges and loading muskets for the gentlemen.

As the day advanced, anxiety increased ; all thoughts were turned towards Meerut, for the bearing of the sepoys was perceptibly changing. It was becoming too clear that in any attack they would join their brethren against their European masters, even if they did not commence the attack themselves. A fine brave young fellow, named Marshall, offered to ride to Meerut for succour. Brigadier Graves at once mounted him, and gave him a letter to General Hewitt ; but he only got as far as the *nullah* by the side of the powder-magazine, when the 38th men on guard there shot him down when in the act of fording. Dr. Batson, the surgeon of the 74th N. I., then offered to go on the same errand, disguised as a native ; and with his face and hands stained, he started on this desperate, but as it proved equally fruitless venture.

And what was passing all this time at the magazine ? The European staff of the magazine comprised only the following :—Lieutenant George Wilmoughby of the artillery, in command ; Lieutenants G. Forrest and W. Raynor, assistant commissaries of ordnance ; Conductors Buckley, Shaw, and Scully ; Sub-Conductor Crow, and Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Such were the gallant little band that now prepared itself to defend the magazine by every means which, on the spur

of the moment, it was possible to devise, in the firm hope that succour would soon come from Meerut ; or, failing that, prepared to sell it with their lives, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's suggestion of moving out the two guns towards the bridge was at once found impracticable. There were neither cattle to draw them nor gunners to work them.* Lieutenant Willoughby, as soon as he found the crowd gathering round and becoming tumultuous, had sent off a messenger for succour from the cantonments. This man met Colonel Ripley and the 38th passing in at the main guard. Their fate we already know. The condition of the magazine was in the meanwhile becoming more perilous. The crowd was increasing ; messengers were arriving from the palace, demanding admission ; a small body of the King's soldiers marched down to the main gateway, and relieving the sepoy guard outside, took possession. Nor were matters progressing more favourably within. The native subordinates were evidently traitors, and were communicating with the multitude outside. So it became necessary to prepare for the worst. Those preparations are thus described by Lieutenant Forest himself : " Inside the gate leading to the park we placed two 6-pounders double charged with grape, one under Acting Sub-Conductor Crow and Sergeant Steward, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that, if any attempt was made to force the gate, both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux de frise* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as both to command the gate and a small bastion in its vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate and in front of the office, and commanding two cross-roads, were three 6-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer, which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns and howitzers had been placed in the several positions above named, they were loaded with double charges of grape."

Next followed preparations for the *dernier resort*—that act which will give the name of the shy, reserved, modest, unpretending subaltern of artillery, George Willoughby, a place in the roll of England's

* Evidence of Captain Forrest at the King of Delhi's trial.

heroes. If he might not hold the magazine, with all its stores, at least they should not fall into the hands of the mutineers. From the main powder-store was laid a train to the foot of a large lime-tree standing alone in the yard. At the trunk of this tree was stationed Conductor Scully, with orders that when he saw Conductor Buckley raise his hat the train was to be fired.

For some time matters remained thus, in a state of awful suspense. The little garrison within watched and wondered at the seeming hesitation of the multitude without. Of that hesitation a solution may now be given. The King had at first been taken by surprise; the spirit of insurrection which he had evoked had broken out before the preconcerted time. The thought of the strong European garrison of Meerut, and of the dire retribution which might come from that quarter, made him cautious. He hesitated before compromising himself. Messengers were despatched on camels along the Meerut road, to give immediate intimation of the advance of any European force. About the middle of the day they returned to the palace, and reported that not a soldier was within twenty miles. The old King now took courage. Another and a stronger guard was sent down, under a son and grandson of the King to demand the immediate surrender of the magazine in the King's name. On this being refused scaling ladders were sent out from the palace and planted against the walls along the main road. Danger threatened also for another quarter. Under the south wall of the magazine stood the old Christian burial-ground. The sepoy and King's guard baffled in their attempts to effect an entrance at the gates, climbed up to the tops of these tombs, and from thence fired in upon the little garrison as they stood at their guns, and were unable to defend themselves against this new enemy. Then the scaling ladders once fairly planted, up swarmed the rebels. On reaching the tops of the walls they were greeted with volleys of grape, and swept off; but more crowded up. Nobly were the guns worked by the few Englishmen, but it was all in vain. As a last hope, Willoughby rushed to the small bastion on the river face, one more look—a long, anxious look—towards Meerut, but not a sign of coming succour. It was clear that Meerut had failed them. Willoughby returned to his guns. For above five hours had that noble little band defended their fortress. Buckley had been wounded in the arm; Forrest had two shots in the hand. Farther defence

was hopeless. Willoughby passed the fatal word to Buckley, Buckley raised his hat, Scully fired the train ; the whole building seemed to be hurled into the air, and hundreds of the rebels were buried in the ruins.

The day wore on—its hottest hours were passed—the energies of the little band had begun to flag under the influence of the increased heat and the protracted suspense, when they were startled into still more painful anxiety by the event already described. “A puff of white smoke,” to use the words of one who was an eye-witness, “followed by a magnificent coronal of red dust, rose above the walls, and told us that the magazine in the city had exploded !” At the sight of this the sepoys on the ridge became greatly excited ; then made a rush to their arms, which were piled, but gradually subsided into their former sullen passiveness without attempting any act of violence. A further trial now awaited them ; a cart was driven up containing the mangled corpses of the murdered officers.* However, a scornful smile or a taunt was all that the ghastly spectacle elicited from them. Clouds were gathering fast. The two guns which the Brigadier had recalled were on their way back, when the advanced picquet of the 38th on the left posted at the gorge of the Suddur Bazar rushed forward and fired at Lieutenant Aislabie, seized the guns,† wheeled them round, and with fixed bayonets compelled the drivers to take them back towards the city. Captain De Teissier, who was at the Flag-staff Tower, no sooner saw this than he galloped down the hill, and called out to his men to return. He was met by a volley of fifteen or sixteen shots from the 38th sepoys, although he escaped himself untouched, his charger was mortally wounded, and had barely strength enough to carry him back in safety to the Tower.

“At last,” says Mr. Le Bas, “one of the officers suggested that we should get away while we could. At first the Brigadier would not hear of such a thing. He said that he could not abandon his post ; that we

* They had been collected by Major Abbott, and sent up for the purpose of interment. When the army under General Barnard encamped here on the 8th June, the cart was still here, with its load of bleached bones.

† Lieutenant Aislabie in charge of these guns, galloped on through the gorge, hoping to reach the Tower through the Bazar on the rear of the lines, but the sepoys who had been placed here on guard opened fire on him as he approached, and he was obliged to give up the attempt and make for Meerut.

should soon have aid from Meerut : but the question was agitated, and the idea of a retreat gradually became familiar to men's minds."* *Matters* was fast going from bad to worse. There was no sign of the avenging force from Meerut ; to hold out in that small tower, crowded as it was with ladies and children, hampered at every point, was impossible. Flight alone was in their power, and that might soon be lost. So it was at length decided by the Brigadier, Mr. Le Bas, Captain Nicoll, De Teissier, Tytler, Wallace, and others, that all should retire as best they could ; a resolve that was still more confirmed and hastened by the arrival of Ensign Elton of the 74th, who had escaped from the city, and reported that all was over there—Captain Gordon, and Lieutenants Reveley and Smith, the last remaining officers, had been shot down by their men, and the main guard was abandoned.

The sepoys of the 38th made no attempt to oppose the retreat, their manner was more and more defiant, and their language grew more insolent, but they committed no act of violence. Indeed, many of them crowded round the Brigadier, and his Brigade-major, who still remained behind, and urged them, in terms more earnest than respectful, to be off—"this was no longer a place for them."†

Before leaving, however, one more effort was made to blow up the powder-magazine. The importance of such a step was apparent as soon as ever the real nature of the crisis began to be understood ; but unfortunately the Brigadier's first precaution of strengthening the guard, now presented an insurmountable obstacle. Every attempt to get inside was in vain ; the guard, at once suspected the object, and had now too deep a personal interest in securing its contents to give a chance of destroying them. And so the magazine, with its vast stores of powder, was of necessity left in their hands. All the ammunition, however,

* *FRASER'S Magazine*, Feb. 1858.

† Besides this man, the six men of the 74th, who had been at the musketry depôt at Umballa, were marching from Kurnal towards Delhi with Captain Martineau, who had been the depôt "Instructor :" when they were met by the Delhi fugitives, they turned back and remained as a body-guard to Captain Martineau, and have remained with him throughout !

Of his fate nothing certain is known ; so severe, and indeed mortal, were his wounds, that he could only have survived at most a few hours, even if some murderous hand did not anticipate the more tardy approach of death.

which had been collected in the Flag-staff Tower, was drenched with water, and thus rendered useless.

It was now nearly sunset. All had dispersed, in carriages and buggies, on horseback and on foot, some hoping to reach Meerut, others Kurnal. The Brigadier, Captain Nicoll, and Dr. Stewart, alone remained, and they resolved to follow ; all hope of holding the place was gone, and every moment's delay needlessly hazarded their lives. Rumours too were coming up that the troopers, having completed their repast and refreshed themselves, mediated a visit to cantonments ; indeed, two or three were seen entering the Suddur Bazar. Some of the sepoy's still crowded round, and said they would retire with the brigadier ; he determined on one more effort to rally them, and sounded the "assembly" but it was to no purpose ; *only one man* of the 74th N. I. came forward, and he never left them. Poor Colonel Ripley, who still lay there lingering on in hopeless agonies, was placed in a *doolee* and consigned to some bearers to be carried to Kurnal and then nothing more remained to be done. Brigadier Graves, Captain Nicoll and Dr. Stewart mounted their horses and turned their backs on Delhi.

END OF CHAPTER 1ST.

THE RETAKING OF THE HEIGHTS BEFORE DELHI.

Chapter 2nd.

THE MEERUT BRIGADE. JUNE 1857.

BEFORE describing the further advance of the Umballa force, it will be necessary to notice at some length events which were passing at Meerut. General Anson, having acceded to the wishes of Sir John Lawrence, and at length consented to move upon Delhi, wrote to General Hewitt, commanding the Meerut Division, informing him of his proposed plan, and asking for reinforcements from the Meerut brigade. "I propose," he said, writing on the 23rd of May, "to advance with the column from Kurnal towards Delhi on the 1st of June, and be opposite to Bhagput on the 5th. At this last place I should wish to be joined by the force from Meerut." Before this day arrived, as the reader knows, General Anson had died of cholera, and his command had passed into other hands, but his orders had been carried out at Meerut.

On the night of the 27th of May, the little brigade moved out under Colonel Archdale Wilson, composed of half a troop of horse artillery under Major Henry Tombs ; a company of foot artillery and light field battery under Major E. W. S. Scott, with Lieutenant Colonel Murray Mackenzie commanding the artillery brigade ; two squadrons of H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers), under Colonel W. N. Custance ; a wing of H. M. 60th Rifles (1st battalion) under Colonel J. Jones ; two companies of native sappers, with fifty troopers of the 4th irregulars. Mr. H. H. Greathed accompanied the force as Commissioner and Political Agent, under orders from the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces at Agra. Three marches were accomplished without obstacle or appearance of opposition ; and on the morning of the 30th they encamped at Ghazee-oo-deen Nugger on the banks of the Hindun, a tributary stream of the Jumna, which here crosses the main road between Meerut and Delhi, and is spanned by an iron suspension bridge. This most important point may be regarded as the key of the Doab. Here the rebels had come out in full force and had strongly intrenched themselves with the intention of disputing our advance ; yet so carefully had they concealed their position, that no suspicion was entertained of their proximity till late in the day. About four o'clock in the afternoon, two cavalry videttes

galloped in and reported that the mutineers were advancing in force, accompanied by heavy guns, a few minutes after, an 18-pound round shot rolled into camp.* In a few moments the whole force turned out; and then began the first struggle with our rebel army.

The plan of attack and the result are thus described by Brigadier Wilson :—

“ I immediately sent off a company of Her Majesty’s 60th Royal Rifles, with another in support, to hold the iron bridge, which is the key of my position, and I detached the four guns of Major Tombs’s troop, supported by a squadron of Carabineers right along the bank of the Hindun river.

“ The insurgents opened upon these advanced parties with heavy guns. I ordered two more companies of the 60th to support their advance, and brought up four guns of Major Scott’s battery, the sappers, and a troop of Carabineers to their support, leaving two guns and a troop of Carabineers to protect the camp.

“ The first few rounds from the insurgents’ guns were admirably aimed, plunging through our camp; but they were ably replied to by our two 18-pounders, in position under Lieutenant Light, and Major Tombs’s troop most admirably led by Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who raking them in the flank with his 6-pounders, first made their fire unsteady, and in a short time silenced the heavy guns.

“ On remarking the unsteadiness of their fire, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Jones to advance his Rifles and attack. This was done in a most spirited manner. They drove the enemy from the guns; but in the act of taking possession of two heavy pieces on the causeway, close to the toll-house, I regret to say that Captain Andrews and four of his men were blown up by the explosion of an ammunition wagon, fired by one of the mutineers.

“ The insurgents were now in full retreat, leaving in our hands ordnance, ammunition and stores.”

The retreat, however, was so rapid, that only five guns were captured, the rebels carrying off the rest. Short and decisive as the engagement was, the rebels fought well: it was the first time they encountered their late masters, and the sepoy crossed bayonets man-

* It took off one leg of each of two palkee-bearers who were sitting at the tent-door of the Carabineers’ hospital.—*Rorron’s Siege of Delhi*, p. 24.

fully, and the cavalry charged our guns gallantly ; but their courage soon failed them, and some 700 Europeans (for the Meerut force scarcely numbered more) drove ten times their own number out of an intrenched position with comparatively little loss ; the casualties being—Captain Andrews, of the Rifles, killed, and Lieutenant De Bourbel of the Carabineers, wounded, with thirty rank and file killed and wounded.

But the struggle was not all over. On their return to Delhi the rebels were greeted with reproaches and taunts, and then sent back again with promise of high reward to retrieve their honor. By noon the following day the struggle was renewed. It was Witsunday. In the early morning, the dead of the day before had been committed to their graves, and before evening more were to be added to the number.* In the morning, about nine o'clock, there had been a false alarm ; about twelve o'clock the alarm again sounded, then the "assembly" and a sharp cannonade proved that this time it was in earnest. The village which they had occupied so strongly occupied the day before, and had been cleared out and burnt by the gallant Rifles ; so this time they took up a position at a more respectful distance, on some high ground about a mile beyond the advanced picquet ; they occupied heavy a village to the left, and from this height they opened with their guns.† Out went Tombs's guns, supported by a squadron of Carabineers. Lieutenant Light took up his position on the bank of the river with two 18-pounders, with two guns of Scott's battery, and a troop of Carabineers in support ; while the 60th Rifles, leaving one company to protect the camp, held the bridge. For nearly two hours it was almost entirely an artillery action. At length the order was given for the Rifles to advance ; the village on the left was soon cleared out ; the fire of the enemy's guns began to slacken ; the advance became general ; the rebels retired steadily for some distance, and were followed up from point to point ; then pouring in a salvo of grape, they limbered up their guns and sounded the retreat ; and when the ridge was

* The Revd. J. E. W. Rotton, one of the Meerut chaplains who accompanied the brigade and remained with the army throughout the whole siege, thus describes this burial-place :—"A babool tree a little in the rear, and a mile-stone a little above and situated on the main road between Meerut and Delhi, mark the spot."—p. 28

† GREATHED'S *Letters*, p. 8.

crowned, they could be seen beyond in full scamper for Delhi. But pursuit was impossible : the heat of the sun had disabled force far more than the grape of the enemy, who were consequently assembled to carry off their guns.

Now come a halt of four days, during which the little force was strengthened by the arrival of 100 more of the Rifles, whom the Brigadier had sent for from Meerut, and the Sirmooree battalion of Goorkhas under Major C. Reid, who were withdrawn from Allygurh—to prove an invaluable addition to the little army at Delhi.

On the 4th of June they turned their backs on Ghazee-ood-deen Nuggur and the Hindun, having first rendered the bridge impassable, without having seen anything more of the rebels since the 31st. On the 6th they closed the Jumna at Bhagput, and on the 7th effected a junction with the Umballa force under Major-General Sir H. W. Barnard of Alipoor, one march from Delhi, and the Meerut Brigade was merged into the Delhi Field-force. This force now consisted of sixteen horse artillery guns, six horse-battery guns, H. M. 9th Lancers, two squadrons of Carabineers, six companies of the 60th Rifles, H. M. 75th Foot, H. C. 1st Fusiliers, six companies H. C. 2nd Fusiliers, the Sirmoor Battalion, and a portion (about 150 men,) of the sappers and miners which had not mutinied : in round numbers there were 600 cavalry and 2,400 infantry, with 22 field-guns. Besides the above, the siege-train was close behind, consisting of eight 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, from 8-inch mortars, and a 5½-inch mortar, with a weak company of European artillery, and 100 European artillery recruits.

On the morning of the 7th occurred an incident, which furnished another illustration of the value of Lieutenant Hodson in the force. The evening before there had been grave doubts and difference among the Staff as to the real position which the rebels had taken up to dispute our advance on Delhi. The camp was then at Alipore, covered by a strong advance-guard of all arms, with a breast-work thrown up across the road, and a couple of guns, loaded with grape, and port-fires burning. As the day dawned, a small cloud of dust was noticed ahead on the road from Delhi, all were on the alert ; on it came, nearer and nearer, it was evidently cavalry. It was within three hundred yards—a few yards more, and the guns

would have opened upon them—when the foremost of the party turned off sharp to the right, followed by about a dozen sowars. It was an Englishman—it was Hodson ! He had been out to examine for himself the position of the rebels, and solve the doubts of the evening before ; had he had a few of his old trusty “ Guides,” he would (he said) have gone up to the very walls of Delhi ; having only a few of the Jheend Raja’s sowars for his escort, he was obliged to content himself with a reconnoissance—a very careful one—of their advanced position, and a gallop through the old cantonments ; and on his report was the attack for the following morning planned.*

A further clearance of suspected Hindostanees was now made ; a squadron of the 4th cavalry under Colonel Clayton, which had accompanied the force from Umballa and a wing of the 9th Irregular Cavalry which had escorted the siege train from Phillour, were ordered out to watch some villages near the Jumna, where report said parties of rebels were collecting ; the real object being, that on the day of action the force might not be embarrassed by treachery in its own ranks.†

Already had several changes taken place in the leading commands. Brigadier Hallifax had died of congestion of the brain and Colonel St. G. Showers had succeeded to the command of the 1st Infantry Brigade. Colonel Mowat, commanding the Artillery, had been carried off by cholera, and the command had been taken by Colonel Murray Mackenzie, of the Meerut force.

All was now preparation for the coming struggle. Hodson reported that the rebels had taken up a very formidable position at an enclosed building called Badlie Serai, about five miles on this side of the city, with a broad and deep *jheel* protecting their right from the possibility of a flank attack, while the main road by which the advance must be made ran between the Serai and the *jheel* ; on their left, low marshy ground for miles, with the Nujjufgurrh Jheel Canal running parallel to the road, as completely the protecting the flank ; so that an attack in front was the only course open. Such were the

* Hodson in his own letters barely alludes to this exploit, p. 196. Mr. Greathed merely says, “ Captain Hodson has reconnoitred up to the Delhi race-course,” p. 25. For the particulars of the incident the author is indebted to Lieutenant Hunter, who was in charge of the guns.

† NORMAN’S *Narrative*.

natural advantages of their position, which they had not been slow to take advantage of and to improve upon. About one hundred and fifty yards in front of the Serai stood, on high ground, two ruined summer houses, one on either side ; here they had established a couple of batteries and mounted some light field-pieces ; while in support along the front of the Serai, they had planted several heavy pieces to sweep the whole of the open ground, and to give full effect to their guns, they had placed at intervals large *gumlaks* (earthen jars painted white to enable them more accurately to mark the distance and to regulate the elevation of their guns. To such an extent had they turned to good account the time which our delay in advancing had given them.

The plan of attack may be briefly thus described :—The infantry were to be divided into two brigades ; the first, commanded by Colonel St. G. Showers, consisted of nine companies of H. M.'s 75th Foot under Colonel Herbert ; the 1st Bengal Fusiliers under Colonel Welchman with Major Scott's battery ; one squadron of Carabineers and a party of sappers (with intrenching tools) under Lieutenant Chesney of the Bengal Engineers. The second brigade under Brigadier Graves, comprised six companies of the 60th Rifles under Colonel J. Jones, six companies of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers under Captain A. Boyd, the Sirmoor battalion of Goorkhas under Major C. Reid, with Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, and a squadron of the 9th Lancers, accompanied by a party of sappers under Lieutenant Salkeld of the Engineers. The cavalry brigade, under Colonel J. Hope Grant, C.B., comprised three squadrons of the 9th Lancers under Lieutenant Colonel Yule, and about fifty of the Jheend Horse under Lieutenant Hodson, with Tombs's and Turner's troops of horse artillery.

The entire force brought into the field may be calculated at, in round numbers, 170 cavalry and 1,900 infantry, with fourteen guns in the two infantry brigades, and in that under Brigadier Hope Grant, about 350 cavalry and ten guns ; while there remained behind, as a rear guard, and to protect the siege train, a squadron of the 6th Carabineers, a company of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, two guns of Major Scott's battery and the Jheend Rajah's contingent.

The position taken up by the rebels precluded the possibility of a flank attack, but there was reason to believe that the country beyond

became more open, and would admit of an attack in reverse. This part was assigned to the cavalry brigade ; and while it was still dark, Brigadier Hope Grant moved off his cavalry and guns, with the view of making a detour and presenting himself on the left rear of the enemy simultaneously with the infantry brigades in his front.

. Soon after two o'clock in the morning the whole force was on the move. A march of five miles brought them close upon the enemy's position ; the day was just breaking and lights were seen in the enemy's camp. While our guns were in the act of advancing, the enemy forestalled them and opened fire. The second Brigade were still two miles in the rear when they heard the booming of the cannon ; for, through some mismanagement, store-carts and cattle had so blocked up the road as to obstruct their march. But, once clear of these *impedimenta*, they pushed on at the double, and soon formed up in their position. In the meanwhile the heavy guns of the enemy—for our light field-pieces could do little towards silencing the 18 and 24-pounders they had brought out from the magazine—were playing with deadly effect on the advancing column. To add to the discomfiture, some body, no one knows who, called out to "prepare for cavalry," and the 75th formed into square ; so the round-shot was ploughed murderously through their closed ranks. Brigadier Showers saw the mistake, but there was no time to remedy it ; so galloping to their front, he led them up, in square as they were, to the batteries. On they sprang with an English cheer, and the 1st Fusiliers, nobly came up in support, and the guns were mastered. Brigadier Graves had by this time brought up his column, and by a slight flank movement, leading his men under heavy fire up to their knees in water, completed the capture.

Now appeared the long-looked-for cavalry brigade. They had met with more difficulties and obstacles than they anticipated, but they arrived just in time to see the batteries taken, and by a dashing and murderous charge upon the rebels completed the route. The whole affair had scarcely lasted an hour ; yet it was no easy victory. Here, as on the Hindun, the rebels fought well, the training we had given them now told fatally against us ; for they worked the guns with fatal accuracy for they had previously studied the distances ; but it was the charge of the Europeans which took them by surprise, and then so

rapid was the rush that their guns placed on high ground, could not be lowered and charge after charge of round shot and grape passed almost harmlessly overhead. At their guns, too, they fought desperately—still more so inside the Serai; hand to hand they fought for they knew there was no quarter for them; and they sold their lives dearly. It was said that of those who came out of Delhi *a thousand* never returned; they must have lost in killed and wounded between 400 and 500, and at least as many more had already tasted enough of the fruits of mutiny, and slunk off to their homes.

About half a mile beyond, at Azadpoor, the road divided, the right branch leading to the city, that on the left into cantonments; so judiciously had the rebels taken up their first position in advance of this division of the roads. Here a halt was sounded. About a couple of miles beyond rose *the ridge* where the rebels had apparently taken up another strong position. A short halt sufficed, and on they pushed again.

Our force was altogether too small for a combined attack in front of the whole length of the ridge, so it was resolved to make a double flank attack on either end, and to effect a junction in the centre. So two columns were formed. Brigadier Graves's brigade, with the addition of Captain Money's troop of horse artillery, took the left road towards the cantonments, while Brigadier Showers led his brigade, to which were attached the rest of the artillery and cavalry, to the right along the road to the city, Major C. Reid at the same time spread out his gallant little Goorkhas as far as he could over the intermediate ground, and advanced to attack the rebels in front. At the Flag-staff Tower, the extreme end of their position on our left, the rebels had established a battery with three guns, from which they opened a heavy cannonade on Brigadier Graves's column, having laid their guns especially to command the bridge by which the column must cross the canal. This bridge had been partially destroyed, but, fortunately, enough was left for the guns to pass over. The bridge crossed, the column opened out and pushed along through the cantonments, the enemy's guns playing incessantly upon them, though with little effect. On through the huts of the sepoy lines, through the streets of the ruined bungalows of officers they came within a few hundred yards of the battery; here Money's troop moved to the front, opened fire, and

almost immediately silenced their guns ; the Rifles and 2nd Fusiliers wheeled round on the left, took the battery in flank, and the rebels "bolted," leaving all the guns in our hands. On the evening of May 11th, Brigadier Graves had been the last to turn his back on the Flag-staff Tower, that scene of agonising suspense and suffering, and now, accompanied by Sir H. Barnard, he was among the first to enter it again.

During this time Brigadier Showers, accompanied by Brigadier General Wilson, had been fighting their way along the right. The rebels, though in fast retreat, maintained a harassing fire under cover of the walls and gardens which lined the road, and in the by-lanes of the Subzee Mundeë suburb. Gallantly they forced their way, clearing all before them, capturing an 18-pounder gun on the way, mounted the ridge at their extreme right, and at Hindoo Rao's house met Brigadier Graves's column, which, after mastering the battery at the Tower, had fought their way along the crest.

It was scarcely yet 9 o'clock in the day ; two battles had been fought and won, and the ridge was in our possession—that ridge where for three long months of heat, and rain, and sickness, with an endurance and perseverance to which history can scarce produce a parallel, a handful of Englishmen held their own against a force more than ten times their number ; and at last triumphed. The total number of guns captured was twenty-six ; of these, thirteen were captured at the Serai, one in the Subzee Mundeë, and the rest on the ridge.

END OF CHAPTER 2ND.

THE RECAPTURE OF DELHI.

Chapter 3rd.

PREPARATION FOR THE ASSAULT. SEPT. 1857.

" SOME distance in advance of Hindoo Rao's house, the last spur of the ridge towards the Moree Bastion spreads out in a plateau ; on this tempting position a battery of six 9-pounders and two 24-pounders had been planted under command of Captain Remington, as an initiatory step, play upon the Moree Bastion ; and the first real advance was made from this point. A dry nullah runs down from the ridge—this served for a parallel ; and a battery (No. 1) was run up on the night of the 7th, within 700 yards of the walls, consisting of two parts, that on the right mounting six guns, to smash the Moree,"* that on the left with four guns, to keep down the fire of the Cashmere Bastion : the whole under Major J. Brind.

This step, following up the planting of the light battery on the plateau, evidently misled the rebels ; nearly all the hard fighting had hitherto been in this quarter, and the advance of these two batteries confirmed them in the idea that the assault, whenever it was made, would be made in this direction ; so they were wholly unprepared for the next advance, which was on Ludlow Castle. This important position had always formed an advance piequet of the enemy, even after they had lost their guns there on the 12th of August ; but, apparently not contemplating the possibility of advance here, they were taken so utterly unawares that they offered scarcely any resistance, and Ludlow Castle fell into our hands almost without a struggle.

Here a battery (No. 2), a little in front also consisting of two parts, was soon planted under Majors Kaye and Campbell.† In the right division were seven 8-inch howitzers and two 18-pounders ; in the left, nine 24-pounders—the one to play on the Cashmere Bastion, the other on the curtain beyond, where the main breach was to be made. To the left of this, still in advance, stood the Koodsia Bagh ; and here, under shelter of the ruined gateways, a mortar battery of ten pieces

* *A Year's Campaigning in India*, by CAPT. MEDLEY, p. 74.

† Major Campbell was wounded on the evening of the 11th when the Command devolved on Captain Johnson.

to clear the Cashmere Curtain was established under Major Tombs ; but it was kept masked till all the left batteries were ready, that they might open fire simultaneously. On again, nearer still, without parallel or covered way, was now made an advance without precedent in the world's history of siege operations. A little in front of the Koodsia Bagh stood what once had been the "Custom-house." Perhaps its proximity to the city wall—for it was within 160 yards of the Water Bastion—made the rebels look upon the occupation of it by themselves as useless, and by us as impossible. From whatever cause, it was left unoccupied, and our engineering party quietly walked in and took possession. However, the enemy soon found out their mistake ; the noise of the working parties, though carefully suppressed, could not fail to reach the sentries on the wall, and shot and shell were soon pouring in, and in spite of the cover of the walls the men fell fast. However, the work went on in the face of the enemy's fire, and a battery (No. 4) under Major Scott was established. This completed the line of breaching batteries ; the whole formed between the 7th and the 13th—a week's goodly work !

Brind's battery to the right had been at work ever since the morning of the 8th, pounding away on the Moree Bastion, and dropping long shots into the Cashmere Gateway ; two days after, the Ludlow Castle batteries opened ; the next morning the Koodsia Bagh battery was unmasked, and, with that of the Custom-house, took up the game. And now some fifty pieces of heavy artillery were in full play on the doomed city. Day and night the pounding went on ; the Moree Bastion was soon silenced, and the line of parapet which sheltered the sharp-shooters between it and the Cashmere Bastion, was fast disappearing. The Cashmere Bastion itself was silenced in ten minutes after the Ludlow batteries had opened on it ;* and the massive stone-work, only a few months before restored and strengthened by the English Government for the protection or beautification of the city of the Mogul, soon began to crumble away under the block of English 24-pounders. Now a round shot dislodged a block of masonry, and rattled it down into the ditch ; now a ponderous

* MEDLEY, p. 87.

shell, judiciously pitched, lodged on the crumbling wall, and, as it exploded, tore down yards of battlement. The Water Bastion fared almost worse ; the fire from the heavy guns at the Custom-house at 100 yards raged with fearful effect ; the guns were dismounted and smashed and the breach opened ; while under the play of Tombs's mortars the curtain between was literally stripped.

Yet dearly was all the success bought ; among the working parties the losses were very heavy. For not only did the enemy pour in a deadly fire of grape and round-shot from the walls and musketry from the jungle and trenches in front, but they had contrived to plant to an enfilading battery on the right in Kissengunge, out of sight of the guns on the ridge, so that not one of the batteries there could play upon it, and within grape range from the city walls, so that it could not be carried without heavy loss—that could not then be borne. A round-shot from this would now and again plough through, not only Brind's battery on the right, but those at Ludlow Castle too ; while the Custom-house and Koodsia Bagh batteries were similarly enfiladed by a rebel battery established across the river.

By midday on the 13th it was clear that the crowning assault was only a question of hours.

About midnight the order flew through the camp—" The assault at three o'clock in the morning." The plan had been already determined on, and it only remained to carry it out. The whole force was to be divided into " four assaulting columns and reserve," the first to storm the breach at the Cashmere Bastion, the second that in the Water Bastion, the third to blow open the Cashmere Gate, and the fourth, on the extreme right, to clear Kissengunge and enter by the Lahore Gate ; while the " reserve " was to follow up in the wake of the first three columns, and throw in supports wherever necessary.

The post of honour and of danger was claimed by General Nicholson. He had been sent down by the Chief Commissioner " to take Delhi." It was no disparagement to those to whom rank gave a priority in that army to say that all eyes were turned to him.

Ludlow Castle was the rendezvous for the three columns on the left and the reserve. By three o'clock A. M. they had all fallen in of the following strength:—

The 1st Column, under General Nicholson, consisted of—

300 men of H. M. 75th Regt., under Lieut-Col. Herbert ;

250 „ 1st E. B. Fusiliers, under Major Jacob ;

450 „ 2nd Punjab Infantry, under Captain Green ;

with Lieuts. Medley, Lang, and Bingham, of the Engineers, attached.

The 2nd Column, under Col. W. Jones, of H. M. 61st, consisted of—

250 men H. M. 8th Regt., under Lieut-Col. Greathed ;

250 „ 2nd E. B. Fusiliers, under Captain Boyd ;

350 „ 4th Sikh Infantry, under Captain Rothney ;

accompanied by Lieutenants Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton, Engineers.

The 3rd Column, under command of Colonel G. Campbell, of H. M. 52nd L. I., consisted of—

250 * men of H. M. 52nd Regiment, under Major Vigors ;

500 „ 1st Punjab Infantry, under Lieut. Nicholson ;

250 „ Kumaon Battalion, under Captain Ramsay ;

also the soldier-hearted civilian, Sir T. Metcalfe, who knew the streets of Delhi as no one else there did, with Lieutenants Home, Salkeld, Tandy, of the Engineers, attached ; and

The Reserve Column, under command of Brigadier J. Longfield, consisted of—

250 men of H. M. 61st Regt., under Lt-Col. C. Deacon ;

200 „ Belooch Batt., under Lieut.-Col. Farquhar ;

550 „ 4th Punjab Infantry, under Captain Wild ;

200 „ Jheend Force, under Colonel Dunsford ;

with Lieutenants Ward and Thackery, of the Engineers, attached ; while in advance of all, under cover of the trees that lined the road, and concealed in the brushwood which stretched up within musket-shot of the walls, the gallant 60th Rifles, under Colonel J. Jones, spread themselves along, ready to sweep the parapets, keep down the fire of the rebels, and cover the advance of the columns.

All had collected at Ludlow Castle before daylight.

The 1st Column turned off to the left into the Koodsia Bagh, ready to rush out on the main breach ; the 2nd Column passed on beyond to the " Custum-house Garden," their duty being to mount the breach at

* * This is given on regimental authority. General Wilson's report states it to have been only 200.

the Water Bastion ; while the 3rd Column moved out along the high road, prepared to march on the Cashmere Gate when blown in. The explosion to be effected here at daybreak was to be the signal for a simultaneous advance of the three columns.

But as the day began to dawn it was observed that the enemy had been busy at work during the short respite from our guns, and the breaches had been filled up with sand bags and a *chevaux-de-frise* improvised. The order flew along through the batteries to open fire again, and knock down this new obstacle ; and the columns were ordered to lie under shelter until the breach should be cleared ; and then the advance of the Rifles to the front with a cheer was to be the signal for the batteries to cease fire, and the columns to rush out to the assault.

At the head of the 3rd column stood the gallant "exploding party," consisting of Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, of the Engineers ; Sergeants Carmichael, Burgess, and Smith, of the Bengal Sappers ; Bugler Hawthorne, of the 52nd L. I. (who accompanied the party to sound the advance when the gate was blown in) ; and eight native sappers, under Havildar Madhoo, to carry the bags of powder. At the edge of the cover the powder-bags had been transferred to the European soldiers.* Here stood this heroic little band, forming a forlorn hope, feeling themselves doomed to almost certain death, waiting in almost agonising suspense for the appointed signal. It came : the firing suddenly ceased ; the cheer of the Rifles rang through the air : out moved Home with four soldiers, each carrying a bag of powder on his head ; close behind him came Salkeld, port-fire in hand, with four more soldiers similarly laden ; while, a short distance behind, the storming party, 150 strong,† under Captain Bayley of H. M. 52nd, followed up by the main body of the column in rear. The gateway, as in all native cities, was on the side of the bastion, and had an outer gateway in advance of the ditch. Home and his party were at this outer gate almost before their approach was known. It was open ; but the draw-bridge so shattered that

* The Sergeants and the Havildar accompanied Home, carrying the first four bags.—RORTON'S *Siege of Delhi*, p. 272.

† Fifty men of H. M. 52nd L. I., fifty of Kumaon Battalion, and fifty of 1st Punjab Infantry (better known as Coke's Rifles).

it was very difficult to cross ; however, they got over, reached the main gate, and laid their bags unharmed.

"So utterly paralysed," says Lieutenant Medley,* "were the enemy at the audacity of the proceeding, that they only fired a few straggling shots, and made haste to close the wicket with every appearance of alarm, so that Lieutenant Home, after laying his bags, jumped into the ditch unhurt. It was now Salkeld's turn. He also advanced with four other bags of powder, and a lighted port-fire. But the enemy had now recovered from their consternation, and had seen the smallness of the party, and the object of their approach. A deadly fire was poured upon the little band from the open wicket not ten feet distant. Salkeld laid his bags, but was shot through the arm and leg, and fell back on the bridge, handing the port-fire to Sergeant Burgess bidding him light the fusee. Burgess was instantly shot dead in the attempt. Sergeant Carmichael then advanced, took up the port-fire, and succeeded in the attempt, but immediately fell mortally wounded. Sergeant Smith, seeing him fall, advanced at a run, but, finding that the fusee was already burning, threw himself down into the ditch, where the bugler had already conveyed poor Salkeld. In another moment a terrific explosion shattered the massive gate. The bugle sounded the advance, and then with a loud cheer the storming party was in the gateway, and in a few minutes more the column ; and the Cashmere Gate and Main Guard were once more in our hands."†

And where were the other columns ? Each had carried its breach.

The darkness to which they had trusted for a surprise had passed away, and the day had broken when they moved out, each from its cover, in solid advance to the assault. A shower of grape from the flanking guns of both bastions, and a perfect sleet of musketry, greeted them, and many a gallant fellow fell before the glacis was reached.

* MEDLEY'S *Year's Campaign*, p. 109.

† Thus was accomplished one of the most daring acts probably on record. Salkeld, Home, Sergeant Smith, and Bugler Hawthorne, received the Victoria Cross. But poor Salkeld, after lingering several days, died of his wounds ; and the gallant Home, after his hair-breadth escape, met death accidentally soon afterwards, while blowing up the fort of Malagurh.

At the edge of the ditch there was a check ; the fire was so terrific that man after man was knocked over before the ladders could be got down into the ditch, which were to help them up the opposite side. The ladders once down, the men sprang in, mounted the scarp, scrambled up over the debris of the crumbled wall, and were on the breach. Ever foremost in daring, Nicholson, in advance of his men, was the first on the wall, at the head of his part of the column : Major Jacob, Captain Greville, and other officers of the Fusiliers, were the next moment by his side ; the other portion, with the 75th in advance, diverged a little to the right to escalate the adjoining bastion ; here a brave young officer of the corps, Lieutenant Fitzgerald, was the first to mount, and fell mortally wounded. A lodgment was now effected, and in spite of a fire from the Church, the Kutoheree, the Government College, and even the Selimgurh fort in the distance, which raked the top of the wall, they stood firm : resistance was in vain ; the rebels were hurled back, or fled on every side ; and, running down the ramp, the whole column were under shelter of the Main Guard, where they re-formed.

The 2nd column to the left had also carried the breach at the Water Bastion, though not without heavy loss. At the given signal it emerged from the cover of the Custom-house, gallantly led by Colonel W. Jones, of the 61st Queen's. A deadly fire greeted it as it approached the ditch, and among the first to fall, severely wounded, in the ditch, were the two Engineer officers, Greathed and Hovenden, who bravely headed the advance-party with the scaling ladders ; and of the thirty-nine ladder-men twenty-nine were rendered *hors de combat* within a few minutes. However, " English pluck " triumphed ; on the column pushed ; the ditch was crossed ; the scarp mounted ; and the breach carried in gallant style.

The three assaulting columns had now fairly effected a lodgment within the walls ; and a call was made on Brigadier Longfield to bring up his reserve, in order to occupy the positions as they were taken, thus leaving the columns free to push on.

Colonel Campbell first moved his column out of the Main Guard, and diverged to the left to clear the Kutcheree and Church, while General Nicholson, having re-formed, filed past his rear to the right, and entered the narrow lane called the Rampart Road, which runs the whole circuit of the city within the wall. Such a line of advance was

evidently never anticipated by the rebels ; for with the exception of the riflemen on the ramparts, scarcely a man was here to dispute their progress. They soon cleared the ramparts, and, with very slight loss, carried the Moree Bastion, and also the Cabul Gate, and were pressing on towards the Lahore Gate, their *point d'appui*, which they were to open from inside for the 4th column, under Major Reid.* They had gone on some distance, H. M. 75th in front, when at a curve in the road, a gun on the Burn Bastion opened fire upon them ; in the lane, too, was a slight breastwork with a brass gun to dispute the road ; but this was soon withdrawn before the brisk fire of the 75th. Unhappily, no rush was made to capture it : the men in advance hesitated, and fell back to the Cabul Gate with three officers,—Captain Freer (of the 27th), Wadson, and Darrell—wounded. Here Nicholson, who had mounted the Moree Bastion to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy outside, joined them, and found the aspect of affairs suddenly changed. In the lane, which had before been comparatively clear, one of the guns (originally placed at the Lahore Gate to sweep the Chandnee Chouk) had now been run some distance down the lane, and another placed at the entrance to support it ; the windows and roofs of the low houses on the left were also now swarming with riflemen, and, where a short time before a vigorous rush might have cleared the almost empty lane, and taken the gun, and carried the Lahore Gate in flank, with probably but little loss, now every inch of ground had to be fought, and the advance made in the face of a deadly fire from the field-piece, through the lane alive with a concealed foe. Nicholson saw the emergency, and resolved on recovering, if possible, the lost ground. He pushed on the 1st Fusiliers, who answered to his call right gallantly. One gun was taken and spiked ; twice they rushed at the second ; the grape ploughed through the lane : bullets poured down like hail from the walls and houses ; Major Jacob fell mortally wounded at the head of his men ; Captain Speke, Captain Greville, were disabled ; the men were

* Major Reid, in a letter to Mr. Rotton, published in the Appendix to his *Siege of Delhi*, p. 356, says he was to have entered the city at the *Cabul Gate*, but General Wilson's despatch, and Medley, p. 103, in the programme of the operations, expressly mentions the *Lahore Gate*.

falling fast ; there was hesitation ; Nicholson sprang forward, and while in the act of waving his sword to urge the men on once more—alas for the column, alas *for the army*, for INDIA !—he fell back mortally wounded, shot through the chest by a rebel from a house window close by, and was carried off by two of the 1st Fusiliers. The Command of the column devolved on Major Brookes, of the 75th Regiment, who, on Colonel Herbert's retiring wounded at the glacis, had taken Command of that regiment. They now fell back on the Cabul Gate—which was for some days to be our advanced position.

The delay had lost us the Lahore Gate—and *Nicholson*.

To return to the 3rd column. On moving out at the Main Guard, Colonel Campbell turned to the left, cleared the Kutche-ree and Church, the Delhi Press, and Skinner's House, where some rebels still held on ; and leaving these positions in the hands of Wilde's Punjabees, who came up from the Reserve, he then pushed on through the " Begum-ke-Bagh " into the lower end of the Chandnee Chouk, then across this, the main thoroughfare of the city, into a narrow street or lane which leads up to the Jumma Musjid. The column had fought its way gallantly for some distance, when, at a turn in the lane, where a hundred yards ahead, that majestic pile, the pride of the Mohammedans of Hindostan, towered into view, they found themselves confronted by a massive gateway, with the side arches bricked up and the heavy gate closed. Without an engineer—for they had all fallen, two killed and the third wounded at the Cashmere Gate ; without artillery—for the draw-bridge was so broken and the gate so blocked up with the ruin caused by the explosion, that not a gun had yet been able to enter the city ;* without a powder-bag—they were utterly at fault. In spite of a heavy musketry fire playing on them from adjoining houses, they yet held on, hoping succour might come up : at length, when Colonel Campbell learnt that Nicholson had not gained the Lahore Gate, and that the rebels were mustering strong in the

* Bourchier's battery was lying outside ready, and as soon as the bridge and gateway admitted of it, in it came, and did noble service.

Chandnee Chouk, finding his men falling fast, and himself slightly wounded, seeing no hope of support, he resolved to fall back and drew off his men to the Church. In the meanwhile a noble struggle had been going on in the Chandnee Chouk, Major Ramsay, with his Goorkhas (Kumaon Battalion) and about 100 of the 52nd L. I., had been detached by Colonel Campbell to push up the street and seize the Cotwalee. They carried their point in gallant style, and fearing to be cut off, fell back to the main column, leaving a few men to hold the building. Three times did they clear the road and the adjoining houses ; and for some five hours the Cotwalee was in their hands ; but Major Ramsay, also finding himself without support, and afraid to risk the danger of so isolated a position, was compelled to abandon it and join Colonel Campbell at the Church.

The Reserve column under Brigadier Longfield had from the first been broken up to meet the demands of the assaulting columns ; the whole of the 60th Rifles, under Colonel Jones, had distributed themselves along the line of advance to cover the attacking columns ; while the Belooch Battalion was first thrown into the advanced batteries, and subsequently sent to the support of Reid's column to the right. On the assaulting columns advancing, H. M. 61st Regiment, under Colonel Deacon, had pressed on in support ; while the 4th (Wilde's) Punjabees and the Jheend Force occupied the points as they were taken by Campbell's column, and then, under Major Wilde, made a gallant rush on the Government College, still held by the rebels, which they carried with trifling loss.

Such was that day's work within the city, thus summed up in the official telegraphic message at half-past two o'clock : "*We hold the line of the city from the Cabul Gate to the College Gardens.*"

It only remains to describe the progress of the 4th column, whose work lay on the extreme right. The policy of an attack upon this point at all has been sometimes questioned, as embracing too large a range of assault. It has been urged that troops concentrated here, if distributed over the other columns, would by the increase of numbers have made the advance at the other points more vigorous, and the success more certain and complete. In this there may be some truth ; but, on the other hand, it is only just to consider

that the advance of numerically * the largest column of this quarter was not without its object : it served as a *feint*, confirming the rebels in their expectation that the main attack would be here, and thus drawing off their attention from the other points of assault. It has been sometimes hinted, too, that the General was greatly deceived as to the strength of the enemy in Kissengunge, that he had been led to believe them to be in no great force there, and that they could be easily mastered ; to which it may be replied, that though possibly the exact strength of the enemy in this strong position was not actually known, still so much was known, that they were a formidable body, and that their location here was not without its object,—that object being to turn the flank, attack the rear, master the camp, and murder all the sick and wounded while the army were engrossed in the assault ! So that the advance of this column on Kissengunge though unsuccessful, did effect its two-fold object—it acted as a *feint*, and it saved our rear and camp.

At the appointed hour all the troops told off to compose this column, 50 men of the 60th Rifles, 160 of the Fusiliers, with 200 of the Sirmoree Goorkhas, and 200 Guides, and the Crow's Nest picquet drawn in, 80 of H. M. 61st Regiment, 65 Kumaon Battalion, and 25 Coke's Rifles with the Cashmere Contingent, formed up behind the Goorkha stronghold, Hindoo Rao's house, and then moved down the hill to the main road, close to the advanced picquet in the Suzbee Mundee, where they were disposed by Major Reid for the attack ; three guns were also attached to this column, but there was considerable delay in their arrival, and when they did arrive, they were so deplorably undermanned as to be of little use.† Two Engineer officers, Lieutenants Maunsell and Tennant, accompanied this column.

The enemy had occupied the Kissengunge Seira in great force, planting two strong batteries in front and running out two breastworks with light field-pieces across the road leading up to it, one a short distance from the wall, the other far in advance, close to the canal bridge. Major Reid's plan was, after carrying the first breastwork, to divide his column into two parts; and, branching off with one half

* Though a very large proportion were the Cashmere Contingent.

† ROTTON, p. 281.

on each side, to push on in parallel lines to the flanks of the Batteries and the Serai, making at the same time a feint on their front ; and then, having carried the guns and cleared the building, to make for the Lahore Gate.

From the unfortunate delay in the arrival of the guns, it was now broad daylight ; not only was surprise no longer possible, but their intention was known, and reinforcements were seen pouring in to the rebel position from the Lahore Gate. While all was being prepared for the advance, firing was suddenly heard on the right. It was the Cashmere Contingent, who for some cause were prematurely engaging the enemy. The advance now sounded ; a handful of Rifles and the Sirmoore rushed at the first breastwork, and carried it at once, though with the loss of two gallant officers, Captain M'Barnett, 55th N. I. and Lieutenant Murray, 42nd N. I., who were attached, the former to the 1st Fusiliers, and the latter to the Guides. Major Reid was now arranging for the substantial attack on the Serai, when (in his twenty-sixth engagement) he was severely wounded in the head, and compelled to resign his Command. The whole plan of attack was now disconcerted—the heavy guns from the rebel batteries swept the road with grape ; the Cashmere Contingent on the right, finding the enemy far more numerous than they expected, gave way, and could not again be brought up ;* any further attempt was hopeless, and it only remained to draw off the rest of the column with as little loss as might be, which was effected by Captain Muter of the 60th Rifles, who succeeded to the Command on Major Reid being wounded.

There remains one portion of that gallant little army to be accounted for, which could not take their place in any of these columns—the Cavalry, comprising the 9th Lancers, the 6th Carabineers, Guide Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse, and portions of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry,—in all, what with losses in action, and from disease, and volunteers to the artillery, only mustering about 600 sabres. These were concentrated by the side of Brind's battery on the right, so as to prevent any flank movement on the assaulting columns. They gradually moved down towards the city walls, and came close under the Moree

* The native commandant Joalla Sahai resorted to the very common native mode of avoiding the disgrace of defeat by poisoning himself.

Bastion, and were for some time most critically placed, suffering heavy loss from the grape and musketry of the rebels. Their post was perhaps the most trying of the whole force on that day : without any of the thrilling excitement of the assault, they were compelled to hold their ground for some three hours, a stationary target for the enemy, losing men every instant, yet unable to avenge the deaths of their fallen comrades ; until at length, the lodgment fairly effected in the city by the other columns, they were enabled to retire from their exposed position, bearing with them, alas ! a heavy though honourable roll of wounded.

Thus ended September 14th. With daybreak, it might be said the carnage had begun. On the edge of the glacis—even before it was reached—many a brave fellow had fallen : the ditch, the breach, the Rampart Road, the Chandnee Chouk, the smaller streets, all had their victims. The troops had scarcely crowned the breach before the doolies (native litters) were bearing off their loads of wounded to the field hospital tent, which had been pitched just beyond Metcalfe House. Soon it became a line, then a perfect stream ; and so it flowed on for hours, load after load : some poor fellow with shattered limbs, groaning with every movement of the doolie ; others lying senseless and motionless, exhausted from loss of blood ; others again in the agonies of death-thirst, craving for water and breathing their last in delirious moans, while others were past suffering or want. On they swept along the cantonment road ; and as each load was deposited at the hospital tent, back hurried the bearers with the empty doolie for another, and another. There seemed no end :—for some six hours the struggle lasted, and the melancholy stream of doolie flowed along. What a roll of killed and wounded ! 66 officers and 1,104 men had fallen since morning !*

On the morning of the 16th the work of advancing recommenced. The magazine wall was breached, and H. M. 61st, the 4th Punjabees, and the Beloochees poured out from under cover of the College wall to the assault, which was gallantly led by Lieut.-Colonel C. G. Deacon, of the 61st. The breach proved to be not so easy as was expected ; it was carried, however, with little loss, and the magazine cleared out

* Something like one-third of the whole number engaged.—MEDLEY, p. 114.

at the point of the bayonet, and Englishmen once more moved among the ruins which marked the scene of Willoughby's heroism. Kissen-gunge, too, was abandoned on the same day by the rebels, and was occupied by a small body of Goorkhas.

On the 17th a further advance was made ; the old "Delhi Bank House," standing in a large well-wooded enclosure which opened into the Chandnee Chouk, from which a very heavy fire had been kept up on Skinner's House and the advanced positions, was carried, though not without heavy loss. Here, at a great hazard—for at the gateway into the Chandnee Chouk the rebels had run in a gun, and plied the building with round-shot—a mortar-battery was planted, which played, as was afterwards proved, with deadly effect on the palace.

The 18th saw further progress—the line of communication along the canal bank, between the Magazine and the Cabul Gate completed. But the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate still held out, and kept up a heavy fire on the advanced positions.

The 19th, however, dawned more suspiciously. By a surprise the Burn Bastion was carried, leaving only the Lahore Gate to complete our success on this side. It was clear, too, that the rebels were losing heart ; their resistance was becoming more and more weak, their advanced picquets were being withdrawn further and further, and crowds of sepoys and townspeople were seen pouring out of the Lahore Gate in quick retreat. At the other end, also, it was the same. Colonel J. Jones, with the Rifles, had pushed on from house to house, and lane to lane, until he was within musket range of the palace ; while a battery of two 24-pounders and four mortars were pounding away at its main entrance, called the *Lahore Gate* of the palace. All was ready for an assault, when (as certain indications led the General to suspect) the palace was found to be evacuated ; the main gate was blown open, and instead of a renewal of the death-struggle of the 14th, only some thirty *Ghazees* (martyrs) met them who were soon overpowered, and the tread of English troops resounded in the deserted halls and ruined corridors of the Palace of the Mogul!"

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